# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-87-183
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22 September 1987

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*FBIS-EEU-87-183* *22 September 1987*

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## Bloc Delegates Discuss Arms Accord at UN

### ADN Report

*LD201431 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1050 GMT 20 Sep 87*

[Text] United Nations/New York, 20 Sep (ADN)—A meeting of the heads of delegations from socialist states to the UN General Assembly's 42d session took place in New York on Saturday. Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer attended on behalf of the GDR.

In an extensive exchange of views on General Assembly issues, it was emphasized that this body has the responsible task of consolidating the positive trends emerging in international affairs. A broad democratic dialogue is useful in the search for ways and means of creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze gave a detailed report on the results of the negotiations with the United States in Washington. He emphasized that the Soviet side conducted the negotiations on the basis of the coordinated peace policy of the socialist states.

The participants in the meeting appreciated the results highly. They stressed, in particular, the importance of the accord on an agreement to eliminate medium-range missiles. The importance of the impending comprehensive negotiations between the USSR and United States on limiting and eventually banning all nuclear tests, as well as the signing of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on setting up centers to reduce nuclear risk, was similarly underlined.

### PAP Report

*LD202220 Warsaw PAP in English 1749 GMT 20 Sep 87*

[By PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, Sept. 20—Foreign Ministers of Poland and the USSR Marian Orzechowski and Eduard Shevardnadze who arrived to attend the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly met here Sept. 19.

Also in connection with the session of the U.N. General Assembly the delegations of Belorussia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Ukraine, Hungary, Vietnam and the Soviet Union met here Sept. 19 to exchange views on issues related to the session and peace initiatives of socialist states.

The meeting was attended by Marian Orzechowski.

The meeting pointed to important tasks faced by the 42nd session of the General Assembly, including the consolidation of positive trends appearing on the international arena.

They also pointed to the need of broad and democratic dialogue at the session's forum aimed at joint search for the ways and means of creating a universal system of international peace and security, the consolidation of the role of the U.N.

The delegates highly assessed the results of talks Shevardnadze had in Washington and came out for further activities leading to making the results of the Soviet-American talks contribute to progress on the road to a peaceful world.

## Gwiazda Statement Following Moscow CEMA Meeting

*AU181504 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 87 p 6*

[Text] PAP Moscow—The 124th session of the CEMA Executive Committee, the last before the 43d CEMA session, has finished in Moscow. The chief topics were problems concerning the further improvement of CEMA cooperation and socialist economic integration.

In a statement to a PAP journalist, Deputy Premier Wladyslaw Gwiazda said that the CEMA Executive Committee session had brought the work in this area, which the leaders of our parties had recommended in November, nearer its end. Since then, much work has been done within individual countries and in CEMA as a whole. The recent meeting in Sofia of economic secretaries of the fraternal parties was an important step in this work.

As far as Poland is concerned, we have begun work on restructuring the mechanism of socialist integration, guided by the need to meet the challenge to our community as a whole, and to our individual member states.

Above all, we noted the need to create the kind of mechanisms that will reconcile planned principles of cooperation with an actual increase in the role of economic, especially financial, instruments. These serve to develop an integrated socialist market in which there is a free flow of goods and services.

As for the restructuring of cooperation mechanisms, advanced proposals were prepared during the meeting. The approaching CEMA session will approve them.

The meeting also approved a program for coordinating the economic plans of the CEMA countries over the next 5-year period. The program will deal with solving priority economic tasks and establishing lasting economic and scientific and technical ties. At the same time, it will form the basis for working out those parts of our countries' 5-year plans covering mutual cooperation.

### Trade Protocol Signed with Czechoslovakia

*AU211305 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Tirana, September 21 (ATA)—The protocol on the exchange of goods and the payments for 1988 between the Government of the PSR of Albania and the Government of the SR of Czechoslovakia was signed in Brno of Czechoslovakia. For the Albanian side the protocol was signed by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, whereas for the Czechoslovak side by the minister of foreign trade, Bohumil Urban. Attending the signing ceremony were the members of the two delegations, the vice minister of foreign trade, Jiri Nemec, and representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SR of Czechoslovakia.

The protocol envisages intensification of the trade exchanges between the two countries. The PSR of Albania will export to the SR of Czechoslovakia iron-nickel ore, tobacco, cigarettes, fresh vegetables, handicraft articles, and readymade garments, chrome ore and concentrate, etc., and will import oil and steel tubes, different steels and semifinished goods, automobile tyres, chemical products, spare parts for machineries, etc.

Over his stay in Czechoslovakia the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, was received by the first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SR of Czechoslovakia, Rudolf Rohlicek. Attending the meeting were the vice minister of foreign trade of the SR of Czechoslovakia, Jiri Nemec, and the charge d'affaires a.i. of the Embassy of the PSR of Albania in Prague, Idriz Dhrami.

### Nexhmije Hoxha on Ties With Greece, SFRY

*AU211445 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 16 Sep 87 pp 1-2*

[Speech by Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member and chairman of the Democratic Front of Albania, at a meeting celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Conference of Peze, in Tirana on 15 September]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Comrades, our people and party have never viewed the construction of socialism in our country as isolated from international developments. The Democratic Front of Albania unreservedly supports the party's foreign policy. We strongly condemn the policies of aggression and war pursued by American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, and their tools, the efforts of the two superpowers to monopolize international affairs, and the unbridled arms race. We have always given our unreserved support to those peoples struggling for freedom and independence, and for national and social liberation.

As Comrade Ramiz stressed at the 10th Trade Union Congress, our party and people have always been in favor of developing good relations with neighboring countries. We are pleased when these relations go forward on the right track and make progress for our common good. So we welcome the wise and just step of the Greek Government headed by Mr Papandreou in revoking the state of war with Albania. It will make a valuable contribution to the further progress of relations between our two friendly peoples. Other peoples, and especially our neighbors, will always find that we have the goodwill to expand relations in fields of mutual interest. However, we cannot accept and we strongly oppose the anti-Albanian policy that the Yugoslav leadership has pursued and continues to pursue toward our country. Likewise, we strongly denounce the chauvinist policy implemented against Albanians in Yugoslavia. We have not meddled, nor will we meddle, in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. However it is our duty to speak the truth when Albanians are oppressed and persecuted, when their national and democratic rights are denied, and when they are insulted and discriminated against. Recognizing the rights that belong to them would be to the good of all the peoples of Yugoslavia, and of peace and security in the Balkans, and would also bring peace and improve the situation in Kosovo.

It remains a constant task of the organization of the Democratic Front to work tirelessly among the people to increase their vigilance against bourgeois-revisionist propaganda. Let us also raise high and further promote the revolutionary spirit that has burst out everywhere. Let us constantly strengthen the national economy, boost production, and further increase the nation's defense capability to make Albania an indomitable citadel of the revolution and of socialism. [passage omitted]

### New Finnish Ambassador Arrives 18 Sep

*AU191348 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 19 Sep 87*

[Text] Tirana, September 19 (ATA)—The new extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Republic of Finland to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Osmo Kock, arrived in our country on September 18.

### Alia Evokes Hoxha in Anniversary Speech

*AU161815 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Sep 87 pp 1-2*

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, at Democratic Front luncheon in the village of Peze, Tirana District, on 16 September]

[Text] Dear comrades, it is a particular pleasure for all of us to find ourselves here today, in heroic Peze, and to participate in the festivities devoted to the 45th anniversary of the First Antifascist National Liberation Conference of the Albanian people, to this great and unforgettable event which has left such profound and indelible traces in our people's memory. I avail myself of this opportunity to greet the brave and noble people of Peze, as well as the veterans of the National Liberation War, and all of you, dear comrades, in the name of the AWP Central Committee and of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. I wish all of you a long life, successful work, and happiness.

The anniversary of the Peze Conference takes our minds back to the glorious epic of the National Liberation War, to partisan heroism, to the unending sacrifices of the people, and to the wisdom and intelligence of the Communist Party led by Enver Hoxha, the party which, with the patriotic, revolutionary, and freedom-loving spirit of that generation, became the champion of the country and liberated the country from the foreign invaders and the traitors. Our gratitude to those fighters will always be inexhaustible and our loyalty to the ideals for which they fought and worked will never waver.

The commemoration of this glorious anniversary always leads us to look also to the future, to work even more to secure the country's freedom and independence, to consolidate the people's regime and to promote the progress of socialism, and to march on that sure and triumphant journey which began 45 years ago, when the foundations of the new Albania were laid. Comrade Enver, that great communist and patriot who conceived and organized the Peze Conference, that glorious man who drafted the brilliant platform of the union of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front, who set up such a powerful organization to mobilize the people in struggle, and who laid steel foundations for the people's regime is not physically with us on this jubilee—Comrade Enver is not physically among us. But we have his legacy, we have socialist Albania, which is progressing and burgeoning daily, we have the Marxist-Leninist ideals inspiring us, and we have his brilliant teachings that guide us.

Many people in the world predicted that Albania would sink into chaos after Enver Hoxha—and some are still doing so—that his deeds would be shattered, that his ideas would be forgotten, and so forth. These people have failed and will always fail in their predictions, because they evaluate situations metaphysically, they evaluate situations according to stereotypes drawn from the historical practices of other countries, particularly the revisionist countries, practices which are neither of the same nature, nor similar, nor approximate to the road and reality of socialist Albania. History has no general and inevitable rules applying to all countries. Enver Hoxha was a great man when he was alive, but the greatness of his personality and deeds rises even loftier now, after his death. This is reflected in the solidity of his deed, which is the new Albania of triumphant socialism itself. This is reflected in his great ideas, which are a guide to the present and embody future designs. That is why the party's general line, which is based on his ideas, is the line of continuity. That is why the party and the people remain loyal to the revolutionary legacy of Comrade Enver, and that is why his teachings are immortal and their implementation in our daily struggle is essential.

Our contemporaries and those who will be born on Albanian soil in the future will always look upon the deeds, teachings, and ideas of Enver Hoxha like a great wellspring of light and inspiration in the work that they will carry out and in the steps that they will make. Comrade Enver Hoxha's name is linked with all the great events in the history of the new Albania, with the National Liberation War and the construction of socialism. His ideas and teachings have become an inseparable part of the political and ideological consciousness of our people. Their implementation has become a decisive prerequisite in protecting the country's freedom and independence and for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism in Albania.

But two ideas, among many, shine with particular brilliance in his political thinking. These are, precisely, those ideas that pertain to the unity of the people and to the people's power. From the very beginning of his political activity, Comrade Enver fought with political passion and revolutionary determination in order to unite and organize the people in one single front, in a front to liberate Albania, at first, and later for the construction of the new society. In this field, the originality of his genius shone just as much as his revolutionary militancy and organizational capabilities. No one else has made greater efforts than he to unite not only the progressive strata of society in the struggle, but also particular individuals, regardless of who they may have been: influential people or pedantic intellectuals, distinguished individuals or ordinary men of the people. At the same time, no one else has fought like he has fought, with such determination and fierceness, against the enemies, foreign or domestic, against all those who may have attempted to affect and damage the unity of the Albanian people, achieved with so much blood, efforts, and sacrifices. No one has waged the class struggle more consistently and with more principles than he has done. He proceeded from the idea that, if the people were united, they would be able to build their lives in accordance with their own will, they would be capable of meeting all enemies, foreign or domestic.

In the same way that he is the architect of the new Albania, Enver Hoxha is also the architect of the unity of its people. The program that he drafted for the construction of socialism represents at the same time the political and ideological platform which served to guide the struggle to temper the steel-like unity of the people, foundations of which were already laid during the National Liberation War. The unity of our people, as the steel-like foundation of the preservation of independence and of the victories of the revolution, and as a great force and driving power in society, was achieved through a prolonged and difficult struggle involving profound political, economic, cultural, and other transformations under the party's leadership. New production relations were created on the basis of common socialist property, which not only caused old class conflicts and social differences to disappear, but created fundamental common economic interests for all the people.

The ideological and cultural revolution was initiated and is being carried on continuosly, dealing fatal blows to the vestiges of the old feudal-bourgeois societies, creating one single way of thinking and acting, instilling similar tastes and manners everywhere. It was this revolution

which epurgated our national, popular, and democratic culture, which placed it on new foundations, and raised it to newer heights. It was this revolution that eradicated old evils inherited from generation to generation, such as religious and other kinds of divisions; it was revolution which made the materialistic Marxist-Leninist ideology predominant in our society. We may righfully be proud of all these magnificent achievements. The Albanian people are currently united by common interests and aspirations, by one single social psychology. They are united by the same ideology and the same political will.

The moral and political unity of our people and the existence of people's power are two inseparable entities and stand in direct relationship to each other. On the one hand, people's power is not only a reflection of this unity, but also its protector; on the other, the strength of and prospects for its development rest on the unity of the people around the party. There is no people's power without genuine popular unity of the working masses, just as no such unity can exist without genuine people's power. That is why we have to struggle continually on two fronts—with the same determination and persistence—for the consolidation of the moral and political unity of the people, as well as to strengthen people's power—these two basic pillars of our Republic and of the socialist society.

Comrades, looking at the Peze Conference from the perspective of 45 years, we can see even more clearly the broad avenue that it opened up for the mobilization and unity of the Albanian people in the struggle for liberation from the foreign invaders. We can see even more clearly those sound foundations that were laid to establish people's power. We can judge its historic importance even more clearly. Our bold and determined progress on the road along which the party is leading us and our loyalty to the ideals of the glorious National Liberation War and to our revolutionary traditions constitute a great guarantee for the present and future of socialist Albania.

Comrade Enver always instructed us never to cease our efforts to strengthen the moral and political unity of our society and our people's power, which he closely related to the destinies of the Albanian people and the country's future. It is everyone's duty, it is the duty of all the people never to forget these instructions, never to forget that Albania's strength rests on its people and that the strength of the people rests on their unity within the Democratic front. No danger can threaten our country and socialism if the people are united around the party in a close unity of thinking and acting; no danger can threaten our country if the working masses are determined and fully conscious of their progress in the journey guided by the party. That is why we must oppose all those negative factors that hinder our progress, such as manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, sectarianism and dogmatism, which cause people to be concerned and affect the unity of the people. This struggle must at the same time serve the further consolidation and development of the people's power on those sound foundations laid by the Peze Conference and the National Liberation War and steeled in the great battles for the construction of socialism. The preservation of the popular spirit of our state, its continual democratization, the consolidation of its links with the masses, and the struggle against various bourgeois and revisionist influences from abroad represent one of the fundamental prerequisites for its very existence, for the very existence of socialism in Albania. Let us never cease the work to expand and deepen that harmony of interests between the people, which is created by socialism, that spirit of collectivism and mutual aid required by our morality. Let us preserve the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of our people, and transmit them to the future generations. Let us preserve that high consideration that the Albanian people have always had for sincere amity, for the given word, their affection for culture and progress, their broad humanism, and their irreconcilable stand against everything that is base and vulgar.

Comrades, remembering the 45th anniversary of the First National Liberation Conference, we also honor the countless sacrifices of the heroic people of Peze, their bravery and hospitality, their loyalty and nobility. We recall with particular pride that distinguished man of this region, that brave and undaunted fighter, our unforgettable comrade, Myslim Peza. Elder Myslim and the entire region of Peze pledged their loyalty to the party and to Comrade Enver Hoxha from the very beginning and faced the enemy with rare heroism. That is why we will always speak with respect and high appreciation of the people of Peze and their honored son, that popular commander, undaunted fighter, and resolute communist, elder Myslim.

Permit me to raise a toast to our glorious party, the organizer and heroic leader of our National Liberation War and of our socialist construction; to the Democratic Front of Albania, the successor and continuator of that militant organization founded here in Peze. Permit me to hail, together with all of you present, the brave and patriotic people who, through their struggle, sacrifices, and work, have raised the name of Albania to new heights. Permit me to wish the noble and hospitable people of Peze all-round progress, and to wish all the best to all of you present at this gathering.

Long live the 45th anniversary of the Peze Conference.

Glory to the deeds and memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

### Zhivkov On U.S.-USSR Disarmament Accord

*AU211710 Sofia BTA in English 1628 GMT 21 Sep 87*

["T. Zhivkov: Historical Victory of Political Realism"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—On the occasion of the Soviet-U.S. agreement in principle to eliminate intermediate and shorter range nuclear missiles Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, said before a representative of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency:

"The Bulgarian party and state leadership, together with the entire Bulgarian public, met with great satisfaction the news about agreement in principle between the two great states: The Soviet Union and the United States, to conclude as soon as possible a treaty on the liquidation, on a global scale, of their intermediate and shorter range missiles."

"We truly believe that the signing of this treaty will not only bring to the first in history elimination of the two classes of nuclear weapons, but it will also be an impulse toward the achievement of even greater goals. I would like to express our hope that the forthcoming summit between Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU, and Mr Ronald Reagan, president of the United States, will have a positive reflection on the development of the relations between the two states, will have favorable influence on the East-West dialogue, on the entire international atmosphere.

"It is well known how difficult and complicated was the road to this agreement. That is why we may say with confidence that this is an historical victory of political realism, of the will and readiness for reasonable compromise in the solution of mankind's vitally important problems."

"In the East, as well as in the West, at present, it is stressed with good reason that the achieved Soviet-American agreements are the outcome of the persistence and flexibility of the Soviet foreign policy. This policy found a new confirmation in the program article by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev "Reality And Guarantees For Secure World." The article is a logical continuation and development of the new political thinking and of the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress for building of a nuclear-weapon-free world."

"We in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are especially glad today. Because the policy and the efforts of the Soviet Union for the construction of a comprehensive system for international security are the policy and efforts of the entire socialist community, of our jointly developed foreign policy strategy."

### Turkish Minority Threats Protested

*AU211456 Paris AFP in English 1447 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Sofia, Sept 21 (AFP)—Bulgaria has formally protested to Turkey after Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal said he was considering using force as a means to solve the problem of the Turkish minority here, it was announced Monday.

Lubomir Shopov, head of the Balkan section of the Bulgarian foreign ministry told a press conference here that a protest note had been sent to the Ankara government, as Mr. Ozal's "unprecedented statement" marked "a brutal violation" of U.N. statutes.

It also revealed the "true aims" of the Turkish government in its protestions that Sofia was trying to assimilate Turks into Bulgarian culture, he declared.

According to Turkish press reports Ozal said on August 17 that his country would resolve the minority problem in Bulgaria in the same way as it had in Cyprus and that it was "strong enough to take back" Turkish people in Bulgaria.

Turkey invaded northern Cyprus in 1974 and has maintained a military presence there ever since. The Turkish government has frequently protested at what it calls a Bulgarian campaign to assimilate the Turkish Islamic minority through policies that range from banning the practice of Islam to mandating the dropping of Turkish names

Mr. Shopov said Bulgaria had never received the full text of Mr. Ozal's speech, which Turkey has since tried to underplay.

He said Turkish criticism of a Bulgarian decision to inaugurate March 3 as a day of celebration of the liberation from Turkish domination was non-valid as it was a domestic decision.

The criticism by Ankara was described by the Bulgarian daily *Otechestven Front* Monday as "extraordinary cynicism." It added that a third of the Bulgarian population was massacred during the five centuries of Ottoman domination.

### Mladenov's Official Visit to UK Reviewed

#### 'Essential Factor' in Relations

*AU211141 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Sep 87 p 5*

[Editorial article: "In Mutual Interest"]

[Text] The official visit paid by Bulgarian Foreign Affairs Minister Petur Mladenov to Great Britain has ended. It proceeded in an open, businesslike, and constructive atmosphere and can be described as an essential factor in the development of bilateral relations between our two countries. The evaluations made by Petur Mladenov and Geoffrey Howe in their toasts on the state and future prospects of comprehensive relations between the two countries, the results of their talks, as well as the mutual wish expressed for an expansion of contacts in all fields, and the documents signed during the visit—all these things confirm this conclusion.

This first visit by a leader of Bulgarian diplomacy to London took place at an important stage in the development of the international situation and represents the natural pursuit of the Bulgarian-British dialogue which began with the visit Geoffrey Howe paid to our country in 1985. A characteristic feature of this visit is the satisfaction, stressed on both sides, with the bilateral trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and with the opportunities created for the further development and enrichment of this cooperation.

During the official Bulgarian-British talks a wide range of international and bilateral issues were analyzed. Regardless of the well-known differences in the evaluation of certain events, processes, and problems in the world, the mutually shared opinion was pointed out that these differences are not and should not represent an obstacle to the pursuit and intensification of the East-West dialogue, particularly as regards vitally important tasks connected with disarmament and with the consolidation of mutual confidence and security. In this connection the usefulness of an open discussion on urgent international problems was stressed. The two ministers welcomed the progress in Soviet-American negotiations on the elimination of medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles. They noted an improvement in the international atmosphere and reviewed the implementation of the Helsinki decisions in the humanitarian sector. Interest was manifested on the British side in the dynamic processes of restructuring which are under way in the socialist countries, and especially in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs emphasized the necessity of a new political thinking so that nuclear disaster may be averted. He expressed his opinion that Bulgarian-British talks are an indivisible and useful part of the East-West dialogue.

During the visit Petur Mladenov and Geoffrey Howe, his British colleague, signed an agreement on eliminating Bulgaria's prewar contractual obligations toward Great Britain and an agreement on avoiding double taxation, which is an encouragement for bilateral trade-economic relations.

The meetings and talks held between Petur Mladenov and Lord Young, secretary of trade and industry, as well as with representatives of British business circles at the giant industrial corporation General Electric Company confirmed the mutual desire to develop more intensive economic relations.

Petur Mladenov's talks at the British House of Commons with Gerald Kaufman, opposition speaker on foreign affairs, and with the leadership of the Anglo-Bulgarian parliamentary group were an expression of Bulgaria's and Britain's mutual readiness to develop all kinds of contacts between the governments, parliaments, and social organizations in the two countries.

The first visit by a Bulgarian foreign minister to Great Britain in the history of Bulgarian-British relations is an important event that is likely to give impetus to the favorable development of comprehensive Bulgarian-British relations in the interest of mutual confidence, understanding, and peace throughout the world.

## 'Intensive and Useful Talks'

*AU211557 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Sep 87 p 7*

[Petur Bochukov report on Petur Mladenov's meetings and activities in London on 17 September]

[Excerpts] London, 17 September—Intensive and useful meetings and talks with representatives of business circles, parliamentarians, and political leaders at which emphasis was placed on the use and development of more progressive forms of economic cooperation, as well as on expanding all kinds of contacts along the lines of governments, parliaments, and social organizations on both sides characterize the second day of the official visit paid by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, to Great Britain. [passage omitted]

The meeting between Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, and Gordon McLennan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, was the first item on today's agenda of the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs visit. Later on the same morning, Petur Mladenov called on the headquarters of the General Electric Company, the largest industrial corporation in the country. [passage omitted]

Following this, Petur Mladenov held a meeting with A. Lippit and D. Harvey, export managers of the corporation, during which he discussed conditions of mutual interest and the common will was expressed to expand contacts. On the British side interest was voiced for bilateral sales and purchase operations with bank assistance.

The great importance attached to Petur Mladenov's visit was expressed, among other things, in his meeting with the leadership of the Anglo-Bulgarian parliamentarian group at the House of Commons, which took place in the afternoon of the same day. Useful talks were further conducted with David Mellor, minister of state at the Foreign Office, who accompanied the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs during his visit to Parliament.

In the meantime the economic section of the Bulgarian delegation headed by Georgi Pirinski, first deputy minister of trade, held an interesting business meeting at the British Industrialists Confederation, which was attended by numerous British businessmen. [passage omitted]

The day, which was filled with useful talks, ended with an official dinner given by David Mellor, minister of state at the Foreign Office, in honor of the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs. Petur Mladenov's visit is expected to end tomorrow, but even before its end we can say that this visit will undoubtedly contribute to an intensification of the political and economic dialogue, to the further enhancing of Bulgarian-British relations to a higher level, and that it will give impetus to the development of new forms of cooperation between the two countries.

### Parliamentary Talks Held With PRC Group

*AU211808 Sofia BTA in English 1714 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—Satisfaction over the development of the cooperation between Bulgaria and China was expressed at the talks, which started here, between delegations of the Parliamentary Commissions on Foreign Affairs of the two countries.

The leaders of the delegations Mr Milko Balev, chairman of the Commission on Foreign Policy with the National Assembly, and Mr Wang Zhuqian, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and deputy chairman of the Commission on Foreign Affairs, stressed the importance of this year's summits between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Zhao Ziyang, for the activation of the contacts between the two countries. A new page was opened in the relations between Bulgaria and China in interest of the two peoples, peace and socialism in the world, pointed out Mr Milko Balev.

The sides exchanged information on the activities of the two parliaments, especially of the Foreign Affairs Commissions. They expressed mutual readiness for the searching of new forms in parliamentary cooperation and its broadening, for a more efficient cooperation between the two parliaments for the widening of the contacts in all spheres.

### Mladenov Message Notes Lao Diplomatic Ties

*BK161131 Vientiane KPL in English 0904 GMT 16 Sep 87*

[Text] Vientiane, September 16 (KPL)—The People's Republic [PR] of Bulgaria and the other fraternal socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union stand side by side with the Lao people in the struggle for independence, peace and socialism," said a telegramme sent recently by Bulgarian Foreign Minister Peter Mladenov to his Lao counterpart, Phoun Sipaseut.

The telegramme was sent on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries.

It said that the relations between the two countries have developed satisfactorily on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism since the foundation of the Lao PDR on December 2.

The telegramme expressed the hope that the fraternal relations between the PR of Bulgaria and the Lao PDR based on the 1979 treaty of friendship and cooperation would be further developed for the interests of the peoples of the two countries, and for peace and socialism.

### Assembly Views Code of Economic Activity

*AU211830 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Sep 87 p 2*

[Mitko Bozhkov report on a meeting of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development held on 18 September in Sofia and addressed by Andrey Lukanov and Grisha Filipov]

[Excerpt] This was a useful, detailed, and constructive discussion on the Code of Economic Activity — a document of basic and crucial importance for economic management in our country. [passage omitted]

Points of view were expressed from the speakers' rostrum, which did not accept one or the other stand set forth in the reports. Andrey Lukanov, National Assembly deputy, announced that there is an essential discrepancy between the Council of Ministers' evaluation of the state of the Farmakhim Economic Trust and its own self-evaluation. Along with its indisputable successes which no one is trying to deny, the trust in question is facing difficulties connected with its financial situation and with its reported efficiency that evokes doubts, as well as with its growing currency dependency, and other shortcomings.

The present development of the Farmakhim trust is incompatible with the postulates on qualitative new growth, the speaker pointed out. [passage omitted covered by referent item].

Grisha Filipov, chairman of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development, delivered a closing statement in which he pointed out the following: This is an all-party as well as nationwide task. Control must now be intensified as regards the application of the Code on Economic Activity so that every self-managing organization may reliably satisfy the needs of the country in a given sector, according to plan. All this must be accomplished by thriftily spending raw materials and by widely applying the achievements of scientific-technical progress. It is high time to abandon the habit of expecting other people to do our work. Everyone should cope with the tasks he is responsible for and should not expect that state, or other organs should adopt decisions for him. This also applies to our great responsibility as National Assembly deputies.

### Leaders' Public Appearances 13-19 August

AU191950 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA in English during the 13-19 September monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council; and Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended a National Day reception given on 15 September in Sofia's Vitosha Hotel by Omar Muftakh Dallal, representative of the Libyan People's Bureau in Bulgaria. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 15 Sep 87)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, received Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the national leadership of

the Italian Communist Party and chairman of its Central Auditing Commission, in Sofia on 13 September. (Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 13 Sep 87) On 15 September Zhivkov received in Sofia the visiting Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. (Sofia BTA in English 1708 GMT 15 Sep 87) On 16 September Zhivkov met in Sofia an Argentine Communist Party delegation led by its secretary General Athos Fava. (Sofia BTA in English 1218 GMT 16 Sep 87) On 16 September Zhivkov had talks in Sofia with Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party. (Sofia BTA in English 1539 GMT 16 Sep 87;) On 18 September Zhivkov received Soviet Minister Oleg Anfimov in Sofia. (Sofia BTA in English 1247 GMT 18 Sep 87)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Wladyslaw Majewski, Polish minister of communications, in Sofia on 16 September. (Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 16 Sep 87) Atanasov also received Soviet Minister Oleg Anfimov in Sofia on 18 September. (Sofia BTA in English 1247 GMT 18 Sep 87)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met an Argentine Communist Party delegation led by Athos Fava on their arrival at Sofia Airport on 14 September. (Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 14 Sep 87) On 15 September Balev received the PRC parliamentarian Wang Enmao in Sofia. (Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 15 Sep 87) On 16 September Balev attended Zhivkov's meeting in Sofia with Dr Alvaro Cunhal. (Sofia BTA in English 1539 GMT 16 Sep 87) also on 16 September, Balev attended a National Day reception given in Sofia by the Mexican ambassador, Jaime Fernandez McGregor. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 16 Sep 87)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, had talks in Sofia on 14 September with a delegation from the Confederation Generale du Travail of France. (Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 14 Sep 87)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met a visiting delegation of parliamentarians from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), that visited Bulgaria from 12 to 18 September, at an unspecified date and place. (Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 18 Sep 87)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Front National Council, opened two new sports facilities on 19 September near Shumen. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 87)

Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of internal affairs, attended a meeting on 14 September at the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Sofia to mark the 43d anniversary of the ministry's formation. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 87)

Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council, attended the National Day reception given by the Mexican ambassador in Sofia on 16 September. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 16 Sep 87)

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, had talks with the PDRY delegation that visited Bulgaria from 12 to 18 September. (Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 18 Sep 87)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of culture, science, and education, received in Sofia on 13 September Sergio Sedzadzari, chairman of the Association for Cultural Relations Between Bulgaria and Italy. (Sofia BTA in English 1724 GMT 13 Sep 87) On an unspecified date, Yordanov received Muhammad Ahmad Jirghum, minister of culture and information of the PDRY, during his visit to Bulgaria. (Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 14 Sep 87) On 14 September in Sofia Yordanov awarded a medal to the Soviet dancer and choreographer Yuriy Grigorovich. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 14 Sep 87) On 16 September Yordanov received in Sofia Josef Svagera, deputy minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, leader of a CSSR delegation that signed an agreement on holding "Days of Czechoslovakia" in Bulgaria. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, had talks in Sofia on 16 September with Aleksandr Kuzin, director of the Bioenergetics Laboratory of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who was visiting Bulgaria on a lecture tour. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 16 Sep 87)

## Communique on Honecker-Jaruzelski Talks

### NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Version

*AU181325 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Sep 87 pp 1, 2*

[Communique on meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council; issued in East Berlin on 16 September]

[Text] On 16 September a friendly meeting took place between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council, in Hubertusstock near Berlin.

The following also participated in the talks, which took place in a spirit of traditional friendship:

On the GDR side, Comrades Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, member of the SED Central Committee, state secretary and chief of the Chancery of the GDR State Council Chairman; Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee International Relations Department; and Heinz Klopfer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and state secretary of the State Planning Commission.

On the PPR side, Comrades Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Manfred Gorywoda, member of the PZPR Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers Planning Commission; Boguslawa Kolodziejczak, member of the PZPR Central Committee and Director of the Chancery of the Central Committee Secretariat; and Ernest Kucza, member of the Central Committee and director of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department.

Erich Honecker spoke of the great performance of the GDR's working people under the party's leadership to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. He stressed that through efforts made in comprehensive intensification and the more rapid use of key technologies, a stable national economic development can be achieved and the course of the unity of economic and social policy can be continued.

Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke of the results and measures of the PZPR in the consistent realization of the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress. He also discussed efforts for socialist renewal, for Poland's more rapid development, and a more effective economy in accord with the program for the second stage of the reform.

The two men noted a significant development in friendly relations between the two neighboring socialist states as a result of the purposeful realization of the agreements reached at their 16 December 1985 meeting in the PPR.

Trusting and friendly cooperation between the SED and the PZPR in the spirit of socialist internationalism is and remains the decisive foundation for the deepening and continued all-around development of relations between the two states and peoples. Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski called for an expansion of wide-ranging working contacts at both central and local levels. In particular, they called for the growth of direct relations between the party organizations of enterprises and a further increase in their effectiveness. They praised the high level of cooperation between the people's assemblies, the friendly parties, social organizations, and state bodies. They also stressed the need to develop this cooperation. Great importance was placed on cooperation in the sphere of social sciences.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski agreed that the implementation of the long-term accords on economic and scientific-technical cooperation of December 1985 has resulted in substantial acceleration. It has given fresh impetus to the deepening and strengthening cooperation in research and production.

On the basis of the long-term program for the development of cooperation between the GDR and the PPR in science, technology, and production until the year 2000, the relevant ministries and central bodies, combines, enterprises, and research institutions of the two countries agreed on and implemented specific tasks for cooperation. They did so in accordance with the economic strategy for the comprehensive intensification of the economies.

The positive development of cooperation is reflected in the growing dynamism of trade. The two countries' ministries, combines, and foreign trade organizations have been instructed to develop trade, proceeding from the long-term agreements for 1986-90. The existing forms of direct cooperation between the two countries' combines, production associations, and enterprises were assessed to have proven themselves in the implementation of the long-term cooperation program. Cooperation between enterprises must continue to be expanded comprehensively for the solution of jointly stipulated tasks in science, technology and production. This includes, in particular, key technologies, which guarantee a more rapid increase in labor productivity and conservation of raw materials and energy. The committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and PPR is instructed to coordinate and more effectively oversee the realization of the tasks arising from the long-term program.

It was recommended that the possibilities for developing cooperation through relations of partnership between bezirks and voivodships be analyzed, particularly on the Oder-Neisse peace border. It was also recommended that proposals be drafted to include all spheres of social life.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski praised the experiences to date in the exchange of children and

young people between the GDR and the PPR and its role in deepening friendship between the peoples. They advocated the comprehensive expansion of this unique project and agreed to raise friendly cooperation between young people to a high level, to enrich the form and content of the program comprehensively, and to conclude a state agreement on this. They attached great importance to the continued broad trade union vacation exchange as an effective platform for deepening friendly contacts between the working people of the two states.

It was agreed to create opportunities for the gradual expansion of tourism and to promote exchanges between state institutions and enterprises through direct relations, which are developing on an ever-increasing scale.

The two sides assessed highly the state of cooperation in culture, science, and information. They said the two peoples should be made even more familiar with the achievements of each other's country. Their performances in terms of culture and civilization should be publicized even more. The joint work of artists and scientists of the two countries should be promoted. Direct relations between cultural and educational institutions should be developed so as to place more emphasis on encouraging young artists in cultural exchanges.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski exchanged views on the key questions of international politics. That exchange was characterized by unanimity in assessing the situation in Europe and the world and by the view that there must be more steps to strengthen peace and security, and expand cooperation between states and peoples. They noted that the international situation is still complicated and dangerous. Yet the active policy of the states of the socialist community and the stance of the forces of reason and realism in the world have created the opportunity for a breakthrough in nuclear disarmament.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski reaffirmed the full support of the GDR and the PPR for the complex of Soviet initiatives that seek to improve the international climate, remove nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, prevent the militarization of space, and reduce conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe. They expressed the hope and expectation that the negotiations between the USSR and the United States may soon result in an agreement on the removal of U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles. That would be a decisive step for progress toward greater security and disarmament. Nor should it be forgotten for a moment that the most aggressive, militaristic, and revanchist forces are doing everything to delay and torpedo real progress. The activities of these forces and their supporters contradict the interests of detente and security, and the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. The two states will decisively reject such activities.

The interlocutors expressed the resolve of their parties and states to act with all their strength for the consistent implementation of the collective comprehensive disarmament program decided on by the Warsaw Pact states at the Berlin meeting of their Political Consultative Committee. They also emphasized the importance of regional initiatives to limit the risk of conflicts and military confrontations and to increase trust between states. In addition, they briefed each other on their own initiatives and activities for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free of chemical weapons, for reducing arms, and for increasing trust in central Europe through the gradual thinning of nuclear and conventional potentials.

They noted with satisfaction that these proposals have received wide international acclaim and agreed that the GDR and the PPR will work closely together to implement and continue these initiatives.

The interlocutors reaffirmed the fundamental interest of their countries in further developing and deepening the overall European process on the basis of the principles and aims of the Helsinki Final Act. They expressly advocated that the Vienna review conference of the CSCE states adopt a substantial closing document. Such a document should contain specific measures for all the main directions of the Final Act. They viewed as particularly important a decision for the rapid assumption of negotiations on the reduction of armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed the intention of the GDR and the PPR to contribute to disarmament and security, to the further normalization of relations between states. They also expressed a desire to promote trusting cooperation through continued and deepened political dialogue with states of different social systems. The issue is to create the foundation for stable security in Europe with the united forces of all states.

In connection with this, Erich Honecker spoke of the results of his visit to the FRG. The two interlocutors stressed its far-reaching nature and significance for the strengthening of security and peace in Europe. Wojciech Jaruzelski discussed the state, main questions, and opportunities for development in relations between the PPR and the FRG. The interlocutors agreed that both the GDR and the PPR are striving for further developments in relations with the FRG on an equal basis, in accordance with the generally recognized norms of international law and respecting the territorial and political realities on the continent.

In this they will be guided by the 21 December 1972 treaty on relations between the GDR and the FRG, by the 7 December 1970 treaty on normalization of relations between the PPR and the FRG, and by the principles of the CSCE Final Act.

The interlocutors again noted that the inviolability of borders and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in Europe are fundamental conditions for peace. In addition, they expressed their satisfaction that this principle was reaffirmed in the joint communique on Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG.

In agreement with their Warsaw Pact allies, the GDR and the PPR are directing their efforts toward stabilizing East-West relations and giving fresh impetus to the peaceful cooperation of European states in all spheres.

Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski agreed to stress the outstanding importance of firm friendship and close cooperation between the GDR and the PPR. They also agreed to further deepen the fraternal bonds with the USSR and to collaborate within the political and defense alliances of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA for the building of socialism in the two countries. In addition, they agreed on the need to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the socialist community of states, and to guarantee peace and security in Europe.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of State, invited Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to visit the PPR. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

### 'Abridged' PAP Version

*LD162156 Warsaw PAP in English 1740 GMT 16 Sep 87*

["Communique on Jaruzelski-Honecker Friendly Meeting (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Berlin, Sept. 16—A friendly meeting between First Secretary of the PUWP CC, President of the Council of State of Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski and General Secretary of the SED CC, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR Erich Honecker was held at Hubertusstock near Berlin today.

In talks which proceeded in a spirit of traditional friendship Erich Honecker supplied information about the great achievements posted by the working people of the GDR under the leadership of the party and the directions aimed at putting into effect the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress.

Wojciech Jaruzelski supplied information about the results achieved by the PUWP and its activities for the consistent implementation of the tasks stemming from the resolutions of the 10th PUWP Congress and the efforts undertaken to realize the process of socialist renewal, for accelerating Poland's development, upgrading economic effectiveness in line with the programme of the second stage of economic reform.

In the course of the meeting the two stated that since their meeting in Poland on December 16, 1985 the friendly relations between both neighbouring socialist countries have further and significantly developed. The consistent implementation of the decisions adopted at that time constituted an important stimulus for this process.

The two stressed that the cooperation between the PUWP and the SED in the spirit of socialist internationalism, marked by a climate of confidence, is and shall remain the decisive basis for deepening and further comprehensively developing the relations between the two states and nations. The leaders of Poland and the GDR drew attention to the need for expanding and more efficiently using the various forms of working contacts on the central and local level, especially direct ties between plant party organizations. Noting with satisfaction the high level of cooperation between parliaments, allied parties, governments and social organizations, the two underscored the need to further develop and enrich it. They attached big importance to the deepening of cooperation in the field of social studies.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Erich Honecker concordantly assessed the hitherto implementation of the complex of agreements of December 1985 covering economic and scientific-technical cooperation stating that this has led to its significant growth, stimulating processes of deepening and tightening cooperation in the fields of research and production.

Positively realizing the tasks of the long-term programme of the development of cooperation between Poland and the GDR in the field of science, technology and production till the year 2000, relevant ministries and central offices, plants, enterprises and scientific-research institutes of both countries have agreed upon and are implementing concrete programmes of cooperation in line with the economic strategy aimed at the thorough development and further improvement of the efficiency of the functioning of the national economies.

The positive development of cooperation reflects the growing dynamics in goods exchange.

The ministries, plants and foreign trade enterprises of both states have been obliged to further develop goods exchange with consideration given to the long-term agreements for the years 1986-1990. The sides deemed that the existing forms of direct cooperation between combines, amalgamations and production plants of both states have passed the test in the process of realizing the long-term programme. Further, comprehensive growth of this development in a way which would bear fruit in joint solutions as concerns concrete tasks in the field of science, technology and production was recommended, especially in the field of key technologies which assure fast growth of productivity and raw materials and energy savings. The Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between Poland and the GDR was obliged to increase the effectiveness of activities in the field of coordination and control over the implementation of tasks stemming from the long-term programme.

An elaboration of proposals of further enriching and deepening partnership cooperation between voivodships and regions, above all in the region of the border of peace on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers was recommended.

Jaruzelski and Honecker highly assessed the hitherto experience of children and youth exchange between Poland and the GDR and its role in developing friendship between both nations. They spoke in favour of

thoroughly developing this one of a kind campaign and decided to upgrade the friendly cooperation between youth to a higher level, to enrich in a complex manner its forms and substance by signing an appropriate state agreement on this matter. At the same time they stressed the big significance of further and broad holiday exchange between the trade unions.

It was agreed that possibilities would be created for a gradual expansion of tourism and exchange programmes within the framework of the increasingly broad direct contacts between administrative units and plants.

Both sides highly assessed the cooperation in the field of culture, science and information. They spoke in favour of an intensive expansion of the comprehensive knowledge of the two societies about the achievements of the other country, of a broader popularization of their cultural and civilizational accomplishments as well as the promotion of joint work of artists and scientists from both countries, the further development of direct contacts between cultural and educational institutions.

Jaruzelski and Honecker exchanged views on the key issues of international policy. The talks were characterized by an unanimity of assessments of the situation in Europe and the world as well as the need for further undertakings serving the strengthening of peace, security and expanding the cooperation between states and nations. The two stated at the same time that although the international situation still remained complicated and dangerous, the active policy of the states of the socialist community and the stance of sound-reasoning and realism in the world create a chance for reaching a breakthrough in the field of nuclear disarmament.

Jaruzelski and Honecker confirmed the full support of Poland and the GDR for the complex of Soviet initiatives aimed at healing the international political climate, at eliminating nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, at preventing the militarization of space and reducing conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe. They expressed a hope and expectation that the talks between the Soviet Union and the U.S. would soon lead to an agreement on the elimination of American and Soviet medium-range missiles. This would constitute a decisive step on the road towards strengthening security and disarmament. At the same time one should bear in mind that the most aggressive, militaristic, revanchist and revisionist forces are doing their utmost to delay or torpedo the real progress. The activities of these forces and the support lent to them, wherever it takes place is contradictory to the interests of detente and security, to the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act. Both states will decisively oppose these activities.

The two also expressed the determination of their parties and states to do their utmost to consistently put into effect the jointly adopted, comprehensive programme of disarmament passed during the Berlin meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of state parties of the Warsaw Treaty. At the same time they stressed the importance of regional initiatives for lowering the risk of conflict and military confrontation and increasing confidence among states. They briefed each other on their respective initiatives and activities aimed at creating a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical-weapons-free zone as well as decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe through the gradual rarefaction [as received] of the nuclear and conventional potential.

The two stated with satisfaction that these proposals were winning a broad response throughout the world and agreed that Poland and the GDR would closely cooperate to further put into effect and develop these initiatives.

The interlocutors confirmed Poland's and GDR's lively interest in the further development and deepening of the all-European process on the basis of the principles and goals of the Helsinki Final Act. They decisively spoke in favour of a substantial final document being adopted by the Vienna conference of states-signatories to the CSCE. It should contain concrete plans in all the main fields which form the substance of the Final Act. The two deemed the adoption of agreements on the speedy start of negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals as especially important.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Erich Honecker underlined the will of Poland and the GDR to contribute—through the continuation and deepening of political dialogue with states of different political systems—to disarmament and security, to the further normalization of inter-state relations and to the development of cooperation based on mutual trust which allows for the creation of the foundations of lasting security in Europe through the joint efforts of all states.

In this context Honecker briefed Jaruzelski on the results of his visit to the FRG. Both stressed its importance for strengthening security and peace in Europe.

Wojciech Jaruzelski presented the state of relations between Poland and the FRG, pointing to the key issues related to the conditions and possibilities of developing them.

The two agreed that both Poland and the GDR are striving to further develop relations with the FRG on the basis of equal rights, in line with the generally accepted norms of international law, with respect for the territorial-political reality of the continent. In this respect they will be guided by the treaties between Poland and the FRG on the foundations of the normalization of relations of December 7, 1970 and the treaty on the bases of relations between the GDR and the FRG of December 21, 1972 and the principles of the CSCE Final Act.

The two once again pointed out that the inviolability of borders and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in Europe was the principal premise for peace and expressed satisfaction that this principle has been affirmed in the joint communique on the visit of Erich Honecker to the FRG.

Acting in agreement with their allies in the Warsaw Treaty, Poland and the GDR are making efforts in favour of stabilizing East-West relations and endowing peaceful cooperation between European states in all fields with new impulses.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Erich Honecker concordantly confirmed the special significance of the lasting friendship and close cooperation between Poland and the GDR, the further deepening of fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and cooperation within the framework of the political-defensive alliance—the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance for socialist construction in both countries, for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the community of socialist states as well as for guaranteeing peace and security in Europe.

Wojciech Jaruzelski invited Erich Honecker to pay a visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

## Florin, Shevardnadze Hold New York Talks

*LD212150 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2058 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] UN/New York, 21 Sep (ADN)—During a friendly meeting today at UN Headquarters in New York, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze congratulated Peter Florin, president of the 42d UN General Assembly session, on his assumption of this high office.

The two men underlined the great value of the article by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, published before the UN General Assembly session and the 18 September joint agreement between the USSR and the United States, for a positive approach to this year's session of the world organization.

Foreign Minister Shevardnadze referred to the significance of Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG and praised the great commitment of the GDR'S leading representative to a policy of dialogue and understanding. The far-reaching results of that trip will also a favorable influence on the 42d General Assembly session.

## PRC's Water Minister, Delegation Visit

### Grosz, Qian Attend Trade Fair

*LD211908 Budapest MTI in English 1748 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—On Monday Hungarian Premier Karoly Grosz visited Hungarian and foreign exhibitions at the Budapest International Fair. The fair was also seen by a Chinese delegation headed by Qian Zhengying, minister of water conservancy and electric power, and accompanied by Zhu Ankang, Chinese ambassador to Hungary.

At a press conference minister of home industry of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic said that Uzbek companies have started promising talks with Canadian, Italian, and Bulgarian traders, and sought to expand cooperation with Hungarian firms too. Besides the exchange of goods, Hungarian and Uzbek enterprises are going to set up joint ventures for manufacturing and marketing footwear and processing and selling fur and textile materials.

Exhibitors of the GDR said that their main target in the fair was to conclude bilateral agreements for next year. Hungarian-GDR trade turnover is planned to reach 2,000 million roubles this year, and a further increase is expected in 1988. It was also reported that the household machine manufacturer AKA-ELEKTRONIK and the Hungarian Politoys cooperative agreed upon the joint manufacture of toys.

At another press conference representatives of the British Easy Garment Factory LTD expressed their hope that, following their deliveries to several socialist countries, their blue jeans would also find their way to the Hungarian market in the near future.

### Agreement Signed, Visit Concludes

*LD211641 Budapest MTI in English 1613 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—Qian Zhengying, minister of water conservancy and electric power of the People's Republic of China, who had visited Hungary from September 17 to 21 at the head of a delegation, left Hungary on Monday. The Chinese delegation was invited to Hungary by Laszlo Kapolyi, minister of industry, and State Secretary Antal Kovacs, president of the National Water Athority.

The Chinese minister held talks at the Ministry of Industry and signed an agreement on technical and scientific cooperation at the National Water Authority. Under the agreement Hungarian and Chinese water conservancy institutions and enterprises plan to establish direct links, and encourage economic relations. The agreement envisages regular and organized cooperation between scientific institutions and an exchange programme for professionals.

The Chinese delegation visited several water conservancy and power industry facilities. Qian Zhenyang met Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

## Grosz Presents Economic Program to Assembly

*AU181056 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Sep pp 1-4*

["Premier Karoly Grosz' Report" to the National Assembly session held in the parliament on 16 September.]

[Text] This is my first opportunity, between these historic walls, to address the deputies, and, with the assistance of mass communication, my fellow countrymen. I cannot deny that the spirit of the place and the ceremony of the occasion have an impact on me. However, sense of duty cautions me to avoid emotion and great words, and to concentrate, with discipline, on the task assigned to me, to which tough but sincere words and a stating of truth are more suited than an elevated voice.

I would like to thank you for the trust you declared in me at the national assembly's summer session. You honored me with your unanimous vote; at the same time, you imposed serious obligations on me, and through me, on the government.

I am aware that the situation in which we now live and work demands from all of us firmness of principle, consistency, openness, and an ability for renewal. My conviction is that in the spirit of our 13th party congress, with a common rallying of forces, we will be able to lead the country out of the current, difficult situation, and create the conditions necessary for resurgence [kibontakozas].

In the past 2 and 1/2 months, several people have asked why the new chairman of the Council of Ministers did not announce a new government program when he was elected? The answer is that the government has a program approved by the national assembly; the country, a 5-year plan embodied in law. Unfortunately, we will probably not achieve the quantities which figure in them, but the set strategic directions are still valid. Therefore, instead of a new program, a document is necessary which directs government action, and departing from the Central Committee's 2 July standpoint, facilitates a stabilization of the economy and lays the foundations for resurgence.

The government was charged with preparing such a working program and now is submitting a proposal in accordance with this to the National Assembly for approval. The aim of my verbal introduction is to justify its contents, to attempt to clarify our objectives, and to gain your support and that of all our responsible-thinking fellow countrymen for our goals. The working program and the verbal supplement do not encompass all of the government's activity; first and foremost they deal with the issues of management and direction, since

rectification in these spheres is necessary. In so far as the submission is accepted by the esteemed National Assembly, we will make it public after the necessary modifications have been made, so that in this manner social control over it will become possible.

The draft of the written submission was discussed on several occasions by some 3,000 participants, at more than 50 forums including, the consultations of the county groups of deputies, the county party executive committees, the leading bodies of the Patriotic People's Front, the National Council of Trade Union, the Communist Youth League, the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, the National Council of Producers' Cooperatives, the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and other sessions. Apart from that, numerous public personalities, experts, scientists, economic leaders, and workers stated opinions and gave noteworthy advice. The debates, which often were passionate, were very helpful; the encouragement and trust was gratifying; but the scepticism and criticism also served as a lesson. All these enriched the program with new elements; they changed its proportions; they made the objectives clearer. On behalf of the government, I give thanks for all the collaboration in the preparation of the working program.

We incorporated a considerable portion of the proposals in the written submission; we will use others in the branch programs as well as in the implementation. Naturally, at such an extensive consultation, it is not possible to reach agreement on every issue; there were, and remain, differences of opinion. This is the way it is expected to be in the future, too. An economic and social situation which is more difficult than before brings tensions to the surface to a greater extent and more forcefully brings differing interests face-to-face. It is not possible to resolve these immediately.

In the debate, many people asked, in how many years do we think it possible to accomplish our tasks? There were some who urged a precise deadline, thinking that if we started the stabilization from 1 January 1988, we would complete it on December 31st 1990, and then we would be able to cross over to the phase of resurgence. The government does not interpret the tasks in this manner, since the phase of stabilization and the period of resurgence cannot be sharply separated from one another. We have already started the stabilization this year. We will continue it in the following years, to be sure, in the next 5-year plan, too. Having created the conditions for resurgence, we will step ahead when, in the wake of favorable changes—I emphasize as a consequence and not as a goal—our economic growth becomes brisk and our balance problems cease. This also enables a palpable improvement in living conditions.

It is also important that elements be incorporated in the working program and in the phase of stabilization that serves long-term development.

The essential difference is that in the phase of stabilization, the possibility for economic growth is tied to rigorous conditions, the distribution proportions are different, and we can use fewer resources for the realization of our living standard and social policy objectives.

Many people have objected to the working program's not having laid down concrete, numerical goals. The explanation for this is that the government is not able, and does not want, to give a program, instead of the enterprises, cooperatives. It is up to them to use the market requirements as a basis, and to adapt to these. The government's task is to designate the main directions, and via shaping the economic environment which it can influence, to help the plants which are able to adapt.

The government's working program cannot set as a target the resolving of every accumulated tension; however, it should assist adaptation to the new world economic situation, it should avert the danger of lagging further behind the developed countries, and it should take a stance in favor of accelerating the previously determined economic and social reform processes. The Central Committee's resolutions of last November and this July, on which the Government's working program is based, are a continuation as well as a renewal of the bold and forward-pointing policy which led the country out of the 1956 tragedy, created a socialist agriculture, announced and introduced the economic reform, and took the path of evolving socialist democracy.

We have a pressing need now to pursue this mentality of policy, to face with similar openness the problems which accumulated in the economy and the political system, and to act with the same determination as in the periods of the mentioned great turnabouts. This determination is necessary for us to overcome the economic difficulties, for us to master the functional troubles of society and its institutions, and for us to actively stand against a narrowing down of ideological life and against the irresoluteness of society's politicizing layers.

Esteemed National Assembly, the question arises with justification: Why are we obliged to set new stabilization objectives and search for the more successful tools leading to them? To this question we may respond with a brief description of the situation that has evolved. In the past decade a new scientific-technical revolution has unfolded. The number of countries successfully taking part in international economic competition has grown, international political and economic power relations have been reorganized, and new international cooperationa forms and price and value relations have been created.

All these changes have put to the test countries much more developed than ours. It is obvious therefore that an economy of such dimensions and so dependent on external economic conditions as ours could not extract itself from this influence. Our response to the international economic challenge, the measures we have taken, in retrospect, have proven to be insufficient. The measures we have taken could lead only to short-term results in the beginning, largely as a result of the restriction of

imports. And the stepping up of exports, which of necessity also needed aspects of efficiency [as heard], a surplus was created in convertible goods exchange, which resulted in a more favorable evaluation of the situation than was the case, and as a result of this, in economic policy and in the Seventh 5-Year Plan we formulated unfounded concrete objectives and several contradictory priorities.

Today it can already be seen that neither the unfounded acceleration of the growth rate nor the limiting policy without the structural renewal of the economy could lead to results; they only reproduce the balance disorders, which are becoming ever more grave.

We know that in 1985-86 the economy's incomes dropped, while internal consumption expanded in a way that diverged from our intentions; import once again exceeded export. The import surplus did not adequately serve technical development or the increasing of competitiveness. The (?common) outmoded production structure became conserved. We did not succeed in realizing the most important economic political objective: that we should extend intensive development to all elements of the process of production.

The effectiveness of the economy barelyh improved, productivity increased only to a small extent, the quality of products did not change considerably, and specific material and energy consumption continues to be high. Enterprises' independent activity did not really unfold and the effectiveness of central direction did not improve to the necessary extent either.

All this, when reflected in figures, means that taking the last 2 years as a whole, the national income fell by 1 percent, while internal consumption rose by the same amount. Our gross debt stock existing in convertible currency has risen to $16 billion. The net debt has attained $9.3 billion which constitutes double our total export accounted in capitalist currency for 1 year.

The net interest burdens in 1986 exceeded $800 billion. As a result of the wide-scale measures taken in mid-term, the unfavorable trends to some extent slowed in 1987, but the improvement is smaller than needed. In the ever more grave situation, the population's incomes and purchases at the same time rose faster than planned. The enterprise incomes also exceeded the expected amount, whereas the deficit of the state budget increased. All this indicates the contradictions apparent in the economic process.

The changes, therefore, are forced upon us by life. We recognize and accept the unavoidable so that we might eliminate the avoidable. If we were to delay today, that would have much more serious consequences tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. To use the words of Ferenc Deak [19th century statesman]: It is possible that in one or other matter we have erred; the error is set right by time, but the foundation must remain unshakable. Because if the foundation is shaken, unforeseeable problems will result, which could put the country into danger.

People today often ask: How could we have gotten into such a situation and who is responsible for this? The answer must be preceded by a scientific analysis, a calm and objective examination. The real reasons cannot be sought only in the faulty decisions of the past 2 or 3 years; they are of older origin. Some of them have accompanied virtually our entire socialist economic management. What I can say, however, is that the Government also feels itself responsible for the recent problems and draws the necessary conclusions.

The same thing must be done by the directing as well as the managing organs. This is particularly important because unjustifiable differences have evolved in the economic performances, which cannot be traced back exclusively to objective reasons. In the first half of the eighties, for example, one-third of the industrial branches developed dynamically, while the others hardly developed at all. These differences are unacceptable. Beside administrative responsibility, they also point to the importance of enterprise behavior and the bigger local possibilities for improving management.

Esteemed National Assembly, in what kind of political situation do we have to find the way out? In our homeland the decisive majority of working, creative people seek the unfolding within the framework of socialism, recognize the results of the past 4 decades, long for a happier future, and reckon with the international realities. They want to work, act, and create for their own and their families' prosperity and for our socialist objectives, but they demand clear guidance and a substantive participation in the decisions. They demand from state leadership honesty, unequivocal formulation of the objectives, faster decisionmaking, more consistent implementation, and acceptance of responsibility. They expect us to take a more determined stance against the undesirable phenomena that can be seen in social life. This demand was also forcibly expressed in the course of the debate on the draft work program and it coincides with the intentions of the government.

At the same time we also sense that the political mood, the public mood, is palpably worse than a few years ago. It is worse even than would be justified by the situation of a citizen living on the average standard. In our society even the extreme views have gathered strength. The reason for the deteriorating public mood is that in recent years the standard of living for significant strata has been stagnating. What is more, it has been falling in the case of a social sphere that is not to be underestimated. Many people live amid very difficult circumstances, while a relatively small stratum is living well and often ostentatiously to a degree that is not in proportion with its work performance.

The other reason is that significant groups of society see the future as uncertain. They do not have sufficient faith that we are not hostages of the situation that has evolved, that there is a way of unfolding. Their confidence in the leadership has diminished and it happens that they call into question the viability of socialism. People in the

community consider the development in the working style of our political institutions to be insufficient and they object to the rigidness of our social direction.

It is one of our conspicuous contradictions that although we have been living in the spirit of the reform for almost 2 decades now, in numerous fields of life conservatism is still strong. The demand for change is present, but resistence is experienced, vis-a-vis, on every kind of more important change. Especially when these do not bring immediate, tangible advantages, or if by chance they even have temporarily disadvantageous effects.

From everything, we can draw the conclusion that in the interest of an economic unfolding we have to achieve change not only in production but also in public political life. Further, that we have to realize the stabilization of the economy amid political conditions that are more contradictory and more complex than before. We have to pay attention to this when making the decisions, but we may not permit the effects of mood to be asserted; we may take decisions only according to the country's objective interests.

Esteemed National Assembly, public opinion today is preoccupied by the question of whether we shall be capable of changing the processes of management in the desired direction and with what methods we can rise above our problems.

What we are preparing for is to stop the growth of debt and, in the meantime, to modernize our economy in such a way that the burden falling on the population should be bearable. This is, according to many, a virtually impossible undertaking. The Government is convinced that our objectives can be realized with many years of consistent, disciplined, thought-out management. For this, however, we have to modify our perception, regroup our means, rethink our endeavors; we have to work more effectively, creating considerably more value. Everywhere there is a need for order, discipline, and for something that serves as the foundation of this: full assertion of the principle of performance.

The basic objective of socialism—that people should live better, in a more civilized way, more happily—that does not change. But for this we have to find a new and more effective way of socialist development, and we must create the material conditions for this as well.

In the recent period, we put distribution in the forefront, without a grounded material background. For this reason we must now concentrate first and foremost on production, since that is where the goods to be distributed come into being. In accordance with this, we consider our priority task to be economic and technical progress, the development of production.

In the phase of stabilization, the rate of economic growth must be determined by those results which we attain in the structure transformation, in the improvement of effectiveness and of the balance. In this phase, the income produced must permanently exceed domestic consumption. The increased debt burdens make it necessary to attain an export surplus equivalent to 3 to 4 percent of the annual income produced.

It can be justifiably remarked that this is the continuation of the earlier restrictive economic policy, and how can this result in an opening up? To this we reply: Yes, this is a restriction, but we shall employ it selectively. We want to create an economic environment and conditions in which the collectives, the enterprises, and the individuals will obtain an income in proportion to their real performance. In the token of selective incentive, which serves the main objectives, we wish to give bigger possibilities for development to enterprises which work successfully, to workers who achieve outstanding performance. We shall also give preference to the application of the best technical results, to international cooperation serving mutual interests, to the development of infrastructural areas assisting production.

We strive for dynamically increasing economical exports, guaranteeing thereto the necessary imports.

Keeping all this in view, the government sets itself the objective to reduce and then to stop the growth of debt, to retain the country's solvency. It will do everything in order for enterprises, institutions, and individuals to be able to increase their performance, so that production should expand selectively, so that the proportion of products of high technical standard should rise, so that interest and market mechanism should unfold, so that administrative direction should be more effective, so that national economic planning should be modernized, and so that the most serious social and welfare tensions should be reduced.

Esteemed National Assembly, the question may justifiably be raised: On what is the government basing its trust in the future; On what does it build the realization of its objectives formulated in the program? To this we give the reply that our unused reserves are great. One of these lies in the human factor and in the development of production, in the increasing of its effectiveness. Our other reserve is the better use of the greater possibilities that lie in the international division of economic labor.

You may also say: We have been proclaiming this for a long time now; there is nothing new in this. That is true! What is new is that we shall now implement our earlier decisions; we shall liberate as fast as possible the existing reserves—even if certain people, smaller social groups, find themselves temporarily in more difficult circumstances. And even if this brings with it local conflicts.

Our methods are not new either. The development of the market, the modernization of planning are also things we have wanted. We have already spoken a great deal about the structure transformation, about intensive development, about the regrouping of the work force, about the reforming of the system of foreign trade interests, and so on.

What is new, however, is that we are setting a different sequential order, and that we shall be operating our means in harmony with one another. It is clear that we cannot line up the whole of society in support of every one of our measures. But we believe that we can have the support of the decisive majority that thinks responsibly, that is sober, that has a sense of responsibility for the future.

Among our internal reserves a particular place is occupied by science, work discipline and culture, the standard of direction and leadership. Also in this connection we ascribe a significant role to science, to the high-level training of the work force, to the better social and material recognition of proficiency.

It is clear to us that in the strained investment conditions, education is one of the most economical investments with a productive purpose. The increasing effectiveness, on the other hand, is indispensible in this area as well. In the spirit of the valid law, it is important to review our educational system primarily from the point of view of content. In the schools, general education must be placed on solid foundations and skilled worker training must be expanded with the increased participation of the plants. In every area the continual increase of professional and general knowledge must be recompensed, encouraged. This necessitates the building up of a more effective system of adult education, retraining, and further education than at present.

Professional culture is inconceivable without a modern, general education. For this reason we must also raise the general cultural standard of our society in a way that is worthy of the rich spiritual inheritance which our predecessors and contemporaries, scientists, artists, intellectuals, and manual workers have bequeathed to us. I am thinking here of the outstanding artistic creations, technical achievements, the national values that have accumulated in working culture. in relation to these, and also in view of our objectives, we cannot accept unexactness, the grayness which we can see day after day, whether in the form of careless work, environmental pollution, untrustworthiness, peremptory conduct, or in the contempt for the rules of human coexistence, in the indifference and roughness we show toward others.

I well know that this is not characterisitc of the majority of our society; but for this very reason we have no right to tolerate such phenomena gaining ground.

We consider the development of the human condition to be important not only in the scholastic connection, nor exclusively in the economic sense. We construe this also as a part of a social public concept in which our older and our newer moral values can become social mobilizing forces. Among these, we list the matter of work morality and work discipline. Gyorgy Lukacs's finding is still true today: The issue of production has become a moral issue. We must work not more—although in places that is also necessary—but more effectively. In order to achieve this—apart from guaranteeing the conditions of work organization, interest, and recompense for performance—there is also a need for something which our great writer Peter Veress referred to: The community's fear for honor.

Here I would like to observe that we are reproached with the charge that we are destroying people with second and third jobs, we are forcing them into self-exploitation. That is playing with words; possibilities are confused with necessity. Everybody knows that, generally speaking, during the main working hours work effectiveness is less than in auxiliary activities. For this reason we may only pursue a principle such that everywhere we pay for performance in an identical way. As for working hours, in very many countries of the world which are richer than ours, working hours are longer than in our homeland, and this still does not mean the self-destruction of society.

Our joining in the main process of the world economy also demands wide-ranging entrepreneurial leaders who think and act in a strategic spirit. There is a need for developing such requirements of leadership in which qualitative features come to the fore. This must be complemented by the development of leadership ability, the mastery of new methods of leadership, the continuous self-education and further education that keeps step with technological progress. The main standard in the estimation of leaders—be they ministers or factory directors—should be the success of the office or plant entrusted to them. A leader who cannot show results, who cannot keep order and discipline by gaining the people's trust, must have over his place to one who shows himself capable of this.

A very important source of our reserves, and at the same time a decisive condition of the realization of our economic political objectives, is the development of production and the improvement of its effectiveness. Our industry today faces a many-layered task. It has to supply the population with a wide selection of modern consumer goods; it has to satisfy the demands of the other branches of the national economy for means of production. It is necessary to increase its export production, its competitiveness, contributing to the restoration of the country's foreign trade balance and then to its continuous maintenance. The increasing of industry's income-producing capacity is in the interest of the national economy. One of its important tasks is the fulfilling of employment policy demands as well. Its responsibility in safegurding the human environment is increasing.

A fundamental task of the food economy is to maintain a good standard of domestic supply. In the interest of improving the foreign trade balance, we continue to count on the branch's export activity. However, income-producing capacity must be increased in the food economy as well.

Greater selectivity than previously is necessary in both industry and agriculture, even if not to the same extent. A pressing task which we face is to make enterprises

operating at a loss profitable or to wind them up, to accelerate the process of structure transformation. I know that even from a political viewpoint we have not yet learned how to handle this problem, which is really novel in our country.

All this pertains to the regrouping of the work force, too. Even according to the boldest professional calculations, movement of a dimension which would be intolerable on a social scale is not expected in the next few years. Let us think of how many people change workplaces now, too, out of personal decision.

It also is generally known that there are still very many unnecessary workplaces in our country, and a considerable part of the work force does not work effectively enough. At the same time, there is an urgent work force shortage in many spheres. The standard does not improve in services, in commerce, and at other places because there are not enough people for the tasks which have to be done.

To the skeptics, we say that full and effective employment can be realized by regrouping. Obviously, the main task is to encourage regrouping within socialist producing units, that is, from enterprise to enterprise or cooperative, and the reverse. Small enterprises, small-scale industry, and small-scale commerce can employ a considerable number of workers. Equipment which produces valuable, marketable goods must be operated in several shifts.

We know that even the smallest regrouping involves human problems. In order to reduce this we have created an employment fund. This provides a possibility to support work-creating investments, which also serves national economic interests and the endeavors of the given settlements to retain their population. People who undertake professional retraining receive support. Together with the trade unions, the government is working in order that workforce regrouping, which is necessary from a national economic viewpoint, should not endanger the workers' social security.

The proportions in the sphere of investment must also be changed. The essence of this change is that within the sphere of investment we must reduce the resources used for the production of basic materials and energy in favor of the processing industry. This places the rational thrift with materials and energy even more into the forefront.

It was asked more than once during the debates whether under these circumstances there is a need for large-scale foreign investments, whether resources that could be used elsewhere could not be saved in this area. After careful consideration we have come to the conclusion that it would be a serious economic mistake to change our earlier decisions in this connection. For this reason, we must choose a more intensive path of implementation. In accordance with this, and in agreement with our Czechoslovak friends, we advanced the completion of the Boes-Nagymaros project by 15 months.

We must also aim at a more economic implementation of the investment in connection with the Tengiz project.

Technical development can also be realized only in a more selective manner. The bulk of resources serving this end must be concentrated in those areas where our domestic potential is most favorable for a more rapid advance. We must find the necessary conditions for every investment project which serves the improvement of our balance of payments; because of the narrowness of the available resources, this can be envisaged only in a selective manner.

A key question that is closely connected with what has been said up to now is the significant reduction of subsidies in production and consumption alike. In 1986, subsidies given to enterprises amounted to 30 percent of the central budget. This is an unacceptably high proportion.

It is also an untenable situation that the subsidies connected with production in the producing branches amounted to 58 percent of the profits.

Naturally, we cannot aim at the complete elimination of subsidies. However, we must certainly aim at their reorganization. We regard as desirable the maintaintance of subsidies aimed at areas which produce competitive, modern products, and where there is the most rapid return.

The reducing of subsidies is also unavoidable because we want to eliminate the budget deficit gradually. In 1988, we would like to reduce the present deficit of 30 to 35 billion forints to 15 to 25 billion forints, and by 1990 we would like to achieve a situation of rough equilibrium.

We are also aware that the main path toward eliminating the budget deficit is increasing the sources of revenue. However, in the short-term, we do not see substantial scope for achieving this.

The basic pillar of our economic system continues to be state and cooperative property. I find it necessary to emphasize this because our efforts to enrich the forms of property and for them to have the most diverse relations with each other can be based only on this firm pillar. There is no reason why, in the name of badly interpreted ideological stability, we should not move in practical matters where the only argument against them is that we have not used them before. In our socialist society, which is capable of renewal and which is being renewed, it is necessary that we should be able to build into its system every phenomenon which serves social progress in this changing world.

Social property must be used where it can bring the greatest benefit to the community. This is why we are trying to continue to release the internal constraints of state ownership, among other things by creating the property interest of enterprise collectives and workers.

We want to create equal competition between state and cooperative property and between organizations which carry out economic activities on the basis of individual

small-scale property. We wish to support those forms of private property which are linked with socialist enterprises, thereby enlarging their socialist features, and individual, independent, and partnership-based small-scale property.

The other important possibility serving the achievement of our goals is the further expansion of international economic cooperation. Our participation in the international division of labor is a decisive factor in our socioeconomic development. Even in the long term, the development of our country will be determined by how far we shall succeed in coordinating the program for stabilization with the strategy of a comprehensive opening in the area of the world economy. We wish to pursue a foreign economic policy which will make possible the multifaceted and multidirectional development of foreign trade, financial, technical and scientific, and economic cooperation with every nation and international economic and financial organization that is willing to cooperate with our country.

It is in this spirit that we are motivating lasting production cooperation and the increased involvement of foreign working capital, further improving the conditions necessary for this.

Just as before, in the future as well we shall fully meet our payment obligations.

One of the most important pillars of our economic development is the long-term maintenance of mutually advantageous economic cooperation with the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. For this we must maintain the present level of our turnover and, if possible, we must expand it.

One of the scenes of our cooperation is CEMA. We are trying to make better use than we have so far of the possibilities inherent in the socialist economic community, and consequently we are supporting those efforts which aim at a more rapid modernization of the entire system of cooperation, the closest possible link between the socialist community and world progress.

We devote close attention to trade with the developed capitalist countries and, where possible, to technical-scientific cooperation. On one hand, the modernization of our productive base, the adoption of developed methods of production, and on the other hand, the fulfillment of our payment obligations require the development of our economic relations.

We must achieve a significant surplus in our convertible currency foreign trade by 1988. It is of decisive importance that, as far as possible and to the fullest possible extent, we should achieve the necessary surpluses through increasing our export revenues.

It is a warning sign that the value of Hungarian exports accounted in dollars has remained basically unchanged since the beginning of the decade. The main reason for this is that the product structure of our exports is increasingly falling behind the international vanguard, and, what is more, more recently even behind the medium-developed ones.

An improvement in our capacity to export is urged, beyond the requirements concerning general growth and equilibrium, by pressing import interests as well. The technical modernization of the Hungarian economy, its structural transformation, the substitution of loss-making activities with imports, separately and together demand the regular expansion of imports. This, however, is also inseparable from increasing our export performance, from the turn in economic policy which will enforce an improved performance.

In order to lay the foundations for the goals of the period of stabilization, we must expand our convertible currency exports by 4 to 5 percent on a yearly average and our industrial exports by 6 to 7 percent. The circumstance that at the moment there is no scope yet for a general expansion of imports requires particularly great efforts. In other words, we can only ensure a selective fulfillment of the requirements.

On the other hand, we must definitely improve the structure of our imports. Within the capitalist imports used by industry, for example, the import of machinery represents a very low proportion—a mere 10 percent—and this is untenable.

We are also urging an expansion of socialist imports. The political will exists on the part of our socialist partners, however, the ways and means of concrete implementation have not yet been worked out. We must mutually endeavor to ensure that the goods delivered to each other should, also as regards their quality and the supply of spare parts, increasingly conform to world market requirements.

Esteemed National Assembly. In order to mobilize our reserves, to better use our resources, there is an urgent need for the renewal of our system of economic management. It is the government's opinion that our system and tools of management cannot be developed by modifying the regulators alone, as we regularly used to do in earlier years.

Our work program, in line with the July resolution of the Central Committee, contains comprehensive tasks for the renewal of our system of management and for its further development. It is not, therefore, a question for us of whether we are on the side of reform or not. This is something that is debated by those who wish to sow political doubt.

The question should instead be asked in this form: What sort of reform can we carry out? Will it be in line with present-day requirements?

The changes are aimed at three main areas. One of these is the radical transformation of certain main elements of the system of regulators, the introduction of new means.

This is served by the expansion in the sphere of monetary weapons, the construction of the elements of property interests, and the development of the new law on partnerships.

Another area of change is aimed at enlarging the market mechanisms, strengthening the already created enterprise independence, eliminating the communication of central expectations through informal channels, loosening the rigidities involved in detailed regulations, and consistent realization of the enterprise and of enterprise responsibility.

Finally, our intention is to achieve a further development of the methods of governmental direction and planning which, in the new circumstances as well, will be able to influence the processes more effectively in line with the interest of all of society and of economic goals, which is no lesser task than the realization of market relations.

For these changes, we have to use new tools, such as the tax reform which is being submitted to the present session. The great and contradictory social reaction in the preparation of the tax reform indicates that the issue here is not simply tax techniques, but a new system of social redistribution and bearing public burdens, that is, an important social policy issue.

Understandably, the interest shown by public opinion is centered on personal income tax, but here too, I would like to emphasize that from a national economic viewpoint, and thus from the viewpoint of the population, the significance of general turnover tax is no smaller, and the two are closely interrelated.

It is the task of the minister of finance to justify the submitted bills on behalf of the government. In connection with the working program I would like to point out that we regard the new tax system to be a tool of economic direction with which enterprise conduct—and in many respects, citizens' conduct—can be influenced. In this system, it is expected that we shall be able to follow more accurately the value-producing activity of enterprises. If we want to increase the people's entrepreneurial inclination, to develop their creative strength, we also have to accept markedly high incomes which are proportionate to performance. But it is necessary to facilitate the return flow of a considerable portion of these high incomes to technical-technological development, by transforming the tax system.

Many people ask why those with small or medium incomes pay tax. The reply to this is: Because in the future, the state will put the money, which it has hitherto taken from the enterprises—that is the workers—in their envelopes, too. It will do this so that it becomes clear: the funds for public expenditure are produced not by the state, which stands above society, but by the people, and if it reaches the budget via them, they will pay more attention to public spending. Those managing public money will administer public expenditure, the taxpayers' money, with greater responsibility.

We are fully aware that the reform of the tax system alone will not bring these possibilities into effect. The tax system is a tool which can be used both well and badly. The government's responsibility is to use it well; it should have the strength and courage to overcome unjustified opposition, and at the same time it should make room for every sensible proposal that serves the perfection of the system, in the course of its implementation.

The government, in harmony with the Central Committee's resolution of July 1987, believes that a reform of our wages system is also necessary. The unsatisfactory performance in particular of the national economy, within the state sector, necessiates that this be placed on the agenda. The practice can no longer be continued that while alluding to the difficult situation in the national economy we hold back wages, we level off wage proportions, without regard for the performance of individuals and the working collectives. Therefore, a wage reform is not a task with which we have to contend only when, from the aspect of material means, we possess a satisfactory national economic performance.

On the contrary, without the strengthening of genuine individual and collective interestedness in performance, without its creation, we have no realistic chance of achieving a substantial improvement in the situation of the people's economy. It would be, however, an impermissible oversimplification to regard a wage reform as a general raising of real wages without anything in return. As is well-known, in the next few years we shall have no scope for a general increase in real wages.

A wage reform, which according to our ideals will give the enterprises wide-ranging independence for managing wages as a cost of production, is an organic part of the economic reform process. In the near future the government will work out a program for a wage reform, whose continuous implementation can begin as early as 1988.

We are facing years when even that which we have produced, which we have worked for, cannot be distributed. Even if temporarily, and to a modest extent, we must reduce the consumption of the population. The raising of consumer prices by a more significant extent than we have been used to in previous years is now unavoidable.

It is the firm determination of the government that it will reduce inflationary pressure with all the means at its disposal. Following the general 14 to 15 percent average increase in consumer prices planned for 1988, already from 1989 onward we shall reduce the rate of price increases. In addition, we shall ensure that commerce should provide goods at a suitable qualitative standard and choice.

Even in the present situation, the work program of the government deals responsibly with the tasks connected with the standard of living and with social care. In order to ease the tensions which go hand in hand with the transformation, we are planning special measures.

Despite the difficulties that can be expected in employment and finding jobs, the government guarantees social security. In the interest of more balanced social relations, we are planning to renew social policy. Within this framework we shall concentrate central and local means primarily to provide for young people, families with children, the old, and the disadvantaged. In this spirit we shall submit a modification of the pension system to the National Assembly in 1988.

In harmony with our family and demographic policy objectives, we shall take care to build up and modernize a more complete system of means serving this purpose. Over the next 3 years, taking into account housing construction and renovation and qualitative changes too, the housing situation of 550,000 to 600,000 families will change for the better. To achieve this, we must develop a new housing management system by involving social organizations; first and foremost the Communist Youth League. We must help the conditions of housing construction by speeding up housing mobility and by developing a more just system of support.

I would add that we are counting on the helpfulness of society, which we have expreienced already, in the improvement of social relations too. We expect an increased sense of duty on the part of parents toward their children and vice versa, because the value of this, its emotional surplus value, cannot be replaced even by the most caring of government policies.

Esteemed National Assembly. The government is aware that it can only obtain the social support which is indispensable for the program if social supervision increases tangibly, if citizens can have a responsible say, through their representatives and also directly, in the designation of economic goals and means. The involvement of representatives of individual groups affected by government measures in the preparation of those decisions, greater public involvement in the entirety of the preparation of decisions, can improve not only the quality of decisions, but may also contribute to the unfolding of social activism so necessary today.

The modernization of the work of the Council of Ministers and of the state's administrative organs, and the development of the activities of government, cannot be achieved by a single resolution. The preparations for this began years ago, and thanks to these preparations it will be possible to take a decision on these matters shortly.

From the perspective of the need to renew the government's working methods, our most urgent task is to rationalize and harmonize the work of the central organs of state administration, and the creation of clear divisions of spheres of authority in decision-making and responsibilities. What we want to achieve is that the Council of Ministers should decide primarily in matters of great significance and that it should not be burdened by questions of detail.

It must of course be able, if necessary, to reach decisions quickly on operative measures and to correct certain decisions too. Alongside the government there is a need for the establishment of a network of experts capable of supervising the otherwise indispensable office expertise and branch outlook and of formulating coherent government priorities.

We wish to strengthen the corporative nature of the Council of Ministers in such a way that ministerial independence and responsibility over the given area of state administration should increase at the same time. In the work of ministers and the ministries, an all-government outlook and readiness to cooperate with other ministries must be asserted simultaneously.

In parallel with the development of enterprise independence. We intend to relax excessive branch insularity in administration, and rigid functional and branch insularity throughout the people's economy. Our aim is to facilitate the practice whereby the economic ministries concentrate on the comprehensive regulating and influencing of a given branch of the people's economy, irrespective of property, relations, and not on the hierarchic running of enterprises.

One of the tasks facing us is to resolve the present contradictory situation of certain organs of state administration with nationwide powers. We plan to transform these organs, which in reality have no state administration functions, into enterprises with their own set of regulations, or into institutions that come under the state budget.

The state's administrative work is of course not restricted to government level. Enterprises and the population come into direct contact with organs in lower echelons of state administration as producers, consumers, or as citizens. The effectiveness of state work and the practical realization of our political goals are usually measured on the basis of experience obtained here. The Council of Ministers, as the central organ of state administration, therefore pays special attention to the work and working conditions of the state apparatus, and wishes to increase the professionalism of its work and its legality at every level.

The deteriorating economic circumstances are weakening not only the discipline of citizens but also of office holders; they are creating favorable conditions for corruption, for the misuse of position, and economic power.

The government, in addition to eliminating the economic causes as far as possible, wants to take up the fight with all available means, including the strengthening of controls, justice, and the persecution of crime, against negative social tendencies, particularly corruption, the misuse of power, and nepotism.

It follows form our goals that the state itself must be made to function at a lower cost. It is, naturally, very important that during our endeavors aimed at reducing the expenditure of the state budget, we should not chase after illusionary aims and should not make mistakes. Reducing the expenditure on health or education, for

example, cannot be our goal; however, in these spheres as well, a more efficient functioning and amore economic utilization must be promoted.

Simultaneously with guaranteeing our security and international obligations, we must be more economical in our use of defense expenditure.

According to our standpoint, the state organs need a smaller but better trained and better paid apparat. This is something that we have been saying for a long time, but we can hardly point to any perceptible results. Thus, a transformation must also be achieved in this area. I am convinced that the main benefit of a reduction in numbers can be measured first and foremost not in forints but in the more effective functioning of the system, which mainly in the political sphere can exert a very positive effect on the mood of the population.

It is our determined intention to place our work better than hitherto under the supervision of the National Assembly. We also wish to create organizational solutions to ensure that we inform the deputies about the intentions and plans of the government as early as possible when decisions are prepared.

In the preparation of more significant government decisions and Council of Ministers' legal regulations, we shall increasingly rely on the opinions and recommendations of National Assembly committees and the deputies. We welcome and wish to make use of all remarks made by deputies in connection with the functioning of the government or the state administrative organs.

In order to organize the government's links with parliament we shall establish in the near future a parliamentary secretariat that will function as part of the Council of Ministers' working apparatus.

We wish to inform the country's public more regularly than hitherto about the government's intentions, the reasons behind its decisions, and the situation of the people's economy. We cannot and do not want to interfere in the professional tasks of making newspapers and producing radio and television programs. This is a matter for journalists and leaders of the press; it is a task which cannot be shifted onto anyone else.

The primary task of the press is to hold up a credible mirror showing the changing processes in their own complexities to society. But its role does not end there. It must positively influence economic and social phenomena, primarily by its realism, speed, strength of conviction, and by making a distinction between the factors helping and hindering economic-social renewal.

In the development of its relations with organs representing social interests, the government's point of departure is that in conjunction with reducing the sphere of competence of the state administration and its excessive organizational size, it must increasingly ask for the support of social organizations and organizations representing interests.

We are thinking of real socialization [tarsadalmasitas] which provides the means for the government to conduct cooperation of the partnership kind with social organizations, interest groups, and associations. We are not thinking of a formal transfer of individual state administration tasks.

The government wishes to take care of improving the economic and personnel conditions of self-governing councils, and of raising the standard of council administration. We consider it very important that they should develop their contacts with the population, intensify office work, and relax bureaucratic restrictions. We want to continue to decentralize the spheres of competence of the state administration, and we are preparing a schedule for the gradual conversion to a two-tier—local and regional—administration.

Esteemed National Assembly. In the execution of its work program, the government builds optimistically on favorable trends in international relations. The basic principles of our foreign policy are known and remain unchanged. These were laid down unambiguously both by the party's 13th congress and the government program adopted here in 1985. The foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic will continue to be built on these.

We acknowledge with hope and satisfaction that as a result of the consistent policies of the USSR and other countries, the prospects for preserving world peace are tangibly improving. We are happy to note that in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, which are decisive in determining world politics, the two sides have recognized their mutual dependence in the most important areas, and that in order to create a safer world they must strengthen their ties and mutual trust. This process is having a favorable impact on the international climate.

Perhaps the most noteworthy development in world politics in recent years—and the one deserving most attention—is that far-reaching social-economic transformations have begun in the socialist countries. In this process the reforms, radical changes, and the increasingly adopted new style of leadership begun in the USSR are of outstanding importance.

The socialist countries are responding in new ways to the challenges of social development and to economic and scientific-technical progress that is taking place on a world scale. This fact also influences international relations substantially, and in the right direction.

Although all these things naturally are taking place in different ways in line with the endowments of given countries, the intention that we should learn from one another's experiences is growing ever stronger.

Our relations with developed capitalist countries are developing in a spirit of a common interst in preserving peace and in an endeavor to strive for mutually beneficial cooperation. On our part we wish to continue to

maintain substantive dialogue at all levels. In harmony with our historic traditions and our geographic location, and in the spirit of the Helsinki final act, we attribute outstanding significance to, and are active participants of, the European cooperation process.

We have proved in practice that we are seeking our country's social and economic resurgence in directions that are in harmony with the political values which surfaced as a result of Helsinki. It was in this spirit that we decided to promote, by further facilitating travel opportunities—including lifting restrictions on the frequency of foreign trips—the togetherness of peoples and their cooperation.

In shaping our relations with the developing countries, we continue to regard the need to develop cooperation useful to everyone as a fundamental principle. Our country will continue to support, in proportion to its strength, efforts for social progress and for the creation of a fair world economic order.

Esteemed National Assembly deputies. The government must bear responsibility for its own work program, and it has no intention of shifting it onto anyone else. But since the program affects the entire society, nobody, neither the citizens nor the social organizations, and especially the economic units, can consider themselves as outsiders. We have differing possibilities for action; and our responsibility is not the same either. The biggest responsibility is not the same either. The biggest responsibility belongs to the political and state bodies running the country. The responsibility of the individual citizen is more modest.

Nevertheless, it is the citizen's contribution that can bring the most results, because in the end the final balance sheet of the people's economy is compiled from the output of individuals.

There is now a pressing demand for change. Almost everybody sees this and recognizes it. However, it is not a matter of indifference in what direction it develops, but whether we maintain the direction in accordance with our will and socialist values or drift with events. We must renew, but it must be done in such a way that the values of historical importance that we have created so far are preserved, and that their foundations are even strengthened.

The government is determined to stabilize the economy by taking responsibility for difficult decisions arising from our situation, and to prepare the resurgence that comes hand in hand with the renewal of society and the reform of the political and state mechanism.

There is no desire on the part of the government that either you or society should rejoice at the expected difficulties. But what it does demand is that if you approve this program, and through you the program is also accepted by society, the implementation must become our common cause.

National sentiment resides deep in every decent man's heart. Respect and appreciation of other peoples is credible primarily if it is built on the affection towards our people and our homeland. For this reason I consider it very important that now, when we call our compatriots for common action, we should feel the significance that it is the homeland's fate and future at stake.

With these thoughts I submit for debate and approval to the esteemed National Assembly the government's work program until the year 1990. Thank you for your attention.

## BRIEFS

### New Cuban Ambassador

Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist workers' Party, has met in an introductory visit Faustino Manuel Beato Morejon, incoming ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to Hungary. [Text] [*Budapest MTI in English 1658 GMT 21 Sep 87 LD*]

## Urban-Gerasimov 1 Sep Press Conference

*AU111001 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Sep 87 pp 4-6*

[Transcript of press conference for Polish and foreign correspondents by Jerzy Urban, Polish Government spokesman; and Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that ministry's press spokesman; at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 1 September]

[Text] Maciej Gorski [chairman]: I welcome you to the press center of the Polish Agency *Interpress*, ladies and gentlemen. Taking part in today's conference is Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Administration of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that ministry's press spokesman, who will answer questions from you. After that, as usual, Minister Jerzy Urban will answer any questions addressed to him. I now hand you over to Gennadiy Gerasimov, Foreign Ministry press spokesman.

Gerasimov: I am very pleased to be in Warsaw and to be able to take part in a press conference here. At the Soviet Foreign Ministry press center in Moscow, we hold briefings on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Today happens to be Tuesday, and so that I may feel at home, allow me to read a statement.

Military action has once again started on the Iraq-Iran front after a 1 and 1/2 month period of relative peace, and this is creating a feeling of unease in Moscow. There is a real danger that the implementation of the Security Council Resolution Number 598 will be aborted. Apart from that, a new escalation of military action may justify the United States' increased military presence in this region and its direct interference in the events taking place there. The Soviet Union is convinced that the current situation, which is dangerous because it is threatening to explode, requires responsible action and restraint from every state without exception, as well as constructive cooperation, in order to eliminate this dangerous hotbed of tension. One cannot allow the jointly worked out and unanimously adopted Security Council Resolution Number 598 to be committed to the archives. It is necessary to continue the diplomacy of strenuous efforts to suppress the Iraq-Iran conflict. That is what I wanted to tell you. I also wanted to talk about other subjects, but perhaps later.

Gorski: In that case let us have questions for Gennadiy Gerasimov, USSR Foreign Ministry press spokesman.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: Your name has become a symbol of glasnost in the Soviet Union. What do you think of the prospects of Soviet "restructuring" ["perestroyka"], and what do you think of Western speculations on whether Mikhail Gorbachev will succeed with it or not?

Gerasimov: I would not say that the speculations come purely from the western countries. Disputes on this topic are continuing in Moscow, Magadan, all over the Soviet Union, perhaps in Warsaw as well. I think it will end in success, because there is no other way. If we revert to the past, we will discredit our system — socialism. That is why I think that our restructuring will end in success. There is only the problem of speed. The restructuring must proceed as quickly as possible. However, there is counteraction on the part of those who would like everything to remain the way it was. This opposition is not organized; it is put up by individuals. But the overwhelming majority of Soviet people in all milieus support restructuring, and that is why we are in an optimistic mood.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: Could you tell us the composition of the Soviet commission which is meant to convene together with the equivalent Polish commission in order to discuss the so-called blank spots in Polish-Soviet history? Can one expect this commission to reveal this year who murdered the 15,000 Polish officers in 1940? And one more matter. We know that there are several million Poles living in the Soviet Union. Will the Soviet Union enable them to return to Poland if they want to?

Gerasimov: I do not know the composition of the commissions of Soviet and Polish historians. But I do know that they have already held one meeting. There will be another meeting in Moscow, and one in Warsaw in October. However, I do not know how fast they are working. Of course there have been difficult moments in Soviet-Polish relations, and I think it is very sensible not to rekindle old historical passions and to carry out a joint assessment of our history.

Let me tell you about a certain event. In Prague, where I lived for quite a long time, two boys, a Frenchman and a Russian, had a fight at the international school which they attended. They fought because each of them had his own view about who won the battle of Borodino. I do not think that is the way we should approach our history. What we should do is eliminate those "blank spots" and find a common point of view. That is what the historians are now working on, but I do not know how long it will take them. Perhaps Comrade Urban knows.

Urban: I do not know, either. From my knowledge of scholars, I can say it will take a long time, and perhaps not all of us will see the end of this work because new problems are cropping up all the time. But one can already see the effects of this commission's work in the Polish papers because Professor Smirnov, chairman of the Soviet side of the commission, wrote a historical article which is very topical. For us too it possesses an anniversary significance, the anniversary of 1 September. Poland has drawn conclusions from its isolation in 1939 and the September calamity, and the alliance with the Soviet Union guarantees that there will never again be a situation such as the one in September 1939.

So Professor Smirnov, a Soviet historian high up in the political hierarchy, wrote an important article in *Novoe Vremya* [Urban gives the Polish name *Nowe Czasy*]. He wrote that Molotov's attitude toward Poland, which

Molotov described as a "defunct appendage of the Versailles Treaty," was incorrect and impermissible. We know that Molotov's words are one of the thorns which infested Polish-Soviet relations, and we are pleased that this thorn has been removed openly and honestly. Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke out on the same subject earlier, in an article for the CPSU organ *Kommunist*. Jaruzelski wrote the following: "The ballast of mutual mistrust, the Polish authorities' reliance on distant alliances, and the consequent failure to find a common way of repelling the Hitlerite threat impressed the final seal on the first stage of World War II in this part of Europe. This was also brought about by the false assessment of Poland's war of defense against the Hitlerite invader as a 'bilaterally imperialistic' one. The Soviet Government's political-military moves at that time were accompanied by anti-Leninist phraseology which conflicted with Poland's right to independence. Repression and deportation were applied to thousands of Poles. However, most of them returned to their fatherland, generally bringing with them respect for the Soviet people's patriotism and dedication and memories of ordinary human kindness accorded to them on many occasions."

I am sorry about this long quotation, but I wanted to show that there is real progress in this sphere of Polish-Soviet relations. But I also want to comment on both these articles, the Soviet one and Polish one. We differentiate between the military and political reasons behind the Soviet Union's conclusion of the nonaggression pact with Germany in August 1939 on the one hand, and the circumstances behind this pact and statements of some Soviet politicians at that time about it, on the other. This period, as well as the problems connected with it, is now part of history. The joint work by the Polish and Soviet historians, in the spirit of the Polish-Soviet declaration on this subject, has already brought about a new, penetrating, more real, and more fair insight into those events, and I have given examples of this. On the other hand, we condemn using these difficult problems of the past for anti-Soviet purposes in Poland today in order to inflame anti-Soviet moods, create prejudice, and disturb Polish-Soviet friendship, because it harms Poland and its raison d'etat. Whoever employs these historical facts in order to rekindle and spread nationalistic prejudice in Poland today, at a time when the truth about the past and its difficult features is being brought out into the open in the Soviet Union, harms Poland's state and national interests and at the same time affects the process of renewal and accord in Poland, and in a certain sense the process of restoring openness in the Soviet Union as well. That is what I had to add, a bit too much, it seems.

Gerasimov: I wanted to add that both our countries should overcome the negative heritage of history so that they may continue to proceed together. I wanted to quote another fragment of W. Jaruzelski's article in *Kommunist*, where he writes that "Polish-Soviet relations have been exceedingly complicated. Of course our peoples are joined by their Slavic origins, similarity of language, and an intermingling of national cultures. Our national interests sometimes coincided, but even so mutual relations have been marked by bad will and mistrust, and have often turned into sharp conflicts. This caused more than one tragedy. It made an impression on the national consciousness of both sides. Of course it will take time to overcome all this. It can be done, and we hope the historians will help us."

Marian Podkowinski, *Rzeczpospolita*: Comrade Gerasimov, I would like to change the subject to something more topical. In 1 week's time, on Monday, 7 September, the GDR head of state is going to Bonn. Some people call this a historic event. It would interest us to know what you think of this visit by one German head of state to another.

Gerasimov: I think that mutual visits by heads of state are a generally accepted practice in international relations. What makes this visit different is that the heads of two German states are meeting. If this visit helps improve relations between two German states in the middle of Europe, and I hope it does, then it will also improve the general situation in Europe. In this sense it may be of positive political significance.

Dimitur Kostev, *Posveta* of Bulgaria: I have two questions. I would like an answer from Messrs Gerasimov and Urban about the need for a new way of political thinking. The first question is for J. Urban: On 22 July, the Polish foreign ministry conveyed a memorandum to the countries of Europe, United States, and Canada, which has come to be described as the Jaruzelski Plan. What is the essence of this plan, and is the plan itself a sign of this new thinking? How have governments reacted to it? The second question is for G. Gerasimov: On 26 August, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl made a statement in which he committed himself to eliminate "Pershing 1a" missiles by 1991 and imposed four conditions on the USSR. Next day, President R. Reagan made his well-known Los Angeles speech full of the cold war spirit. What is more, he said nothing in this speech about the nuclear missiles that are the subject of this problem and dispute. In any case, it is not just "Pershing" missiles that are involved here, but American nuclear warheads in general. Apart from that, he described the Soviet demands in this regard as unjustified. How will the federal chancellor's and U.S. President's statements affect the Soviet-U.S. Geneva talks on eliminating medium-range missiles?

Urban: The Polish memorandum has already been published, so perhaps I will merely recall in brief that the Jaruzelski Plan is a plan to reduce nuclear and conventional weapons in a part of central Europe that contains nine Warsaw Pact and NATO states, and it suggests changes in military doctrines and envisages other ways of strengthening mutual confidence. The plan consists of four points. It is being analyzed by most countries. At the last conference, I said what stage these analyses had reached, as well as discussing the bilateral talks currently taking place on the subject of its implementation. Our

assessment, let me recall, is that this plan has been received with interest, and we believe it has chances of being implemented in whole or in part as an integral feature of the entire package of proposals from the socialist countries.

Gerasimov: To this I can add that in Moscow, the Jaruzelski Plan has been hailed as a valuable contribution to the socialist countries' joint efforts to consolidate peace and security in Europe. What did we like about it in particular? The resources aimed at gradually reducing and withdrawing nuclear weapons and other types of weapons, including conventional ones; the definition of resources to strengthen confidence—all this is contained in the socialist countries' joint stream of efforts in this direction. We know that this plan gained the support of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee at its recent Berlin session. The new Polish initiative is a key initiative. The point is to begin a real process of arms reduction in Europe. Although numerous talks are being held, this process has still not been started. This plan covers that part of Europe with the greatest concentration of arms and armed forces, the point of contact between two political-military blocs. That is the essence of the plan. As far as the reaction of the West is concerned, the plan has not been rejected. It is being studied, as they say. We would like to believe that these studies will lead to a constructive NATO reaction.

To answer the second question about Kohl's statement and Reagan's speech, Kohl has indeed promised to eliminate the "Pershing-1A" missiles under certain conditions. We are examining these conditions carefully. Our first impression is that they are not at all the kind of conditions necessary to create a normal situation for the elimination of missiles, because Kohl says that a U.S.-USSR agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range and tactical-operational missiles is necessary. No one denies this. A final decision about the "Pershings" will be part of the framework of such an agreement. The decision will be taken by Kohl himself because the missiles are not the subject of talks with the United States. Our talks concern the double zero option and the elimination of nuclear weapons in this category.

Kohl's second condition is that such an agreement be observed. The purpose of concluding agreements is of course to observe them and control their observation. Such an agreement should also be ratified, of course. His statement also contains not a condition, but a request that the USSR does not modernize its missiles in the GDR. This is after all a request, not a condition.

As far as Reagan's speech is concerned, it did not say what the United States would do with the 72 nuclear warheads belonging to the West German missiles that Kohl has promised to remove. I looked at the *International Herald Tribune* recently. From what American politicians say, it is not clear what they intend to do with the 72 missiles, although unofficial sources have said that the double zero option is involved here. Now that Kohl has made such a statement, the United States is going to have to include these 72 warheads among those that are going to be eliminated, so that a real zero can be achieved. One cannot be partially innocent. One has to be totally innocent. Zero cannot equal 72. Zero equals zero.

As far as Reagan's speech is concerned, it has caused irritation in Moscow because of its cold war overtones. Now American observers are calming public opinion and writing that the speech was meant to calm the American right-wing. They are saying that great progress has been made in the disarmament talks because the obstacle of 72 nuclear warheads on West German missiles have been or are being removed. So we did not like the tone of this speech, but as far as progress in the talks is concerned, I think we have reason to be more optimistic than 1 week ago. Working meetings are taking place at present between U.S. and USSR representatives on the subject of bilateral relations, regional conflicts, and arms control in the light of the 15 September meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz in Washington.

Gulio Geliebter, ANSA: I would like to ask two questions, if I may. The Soviet Union and Poland are the two East European countries where the "restructuring" ["perestroyka"] process is most profound. At the same time, they are the only countries in the world that do not allow their own Nobel Peace Prize winners to travel freely to the West — I have in mind Mr Sakharov and Mr Walesa. French President Mitterand recently invited both of them to a peace meeting in Paris in January. Will they be allowed to go or not? Second, does the Soviet Union have any plan or policy to aid the situation in the Balkans? Thank you.

Gerasimov: To aid the situation where?

Geliebter: In the Balkans.

Maciej Gorski: Could you repeat your last question?

Geliebter: The situation in the Balkans. I mean the area consisting of Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, and so on.

Gerasimov: What is happening in the Balkans to make us offer aid? Anyway, as far as Sakharov and his trips are concerned, we have new regulations which went into effect in January this year and are more liberal than previous ones. Of course, Sakharov knows many things, and that is a reason why permission for his trips has been denied in theory, because in fact he has never applied to make any. So we do not know what the stance of the Soviet authorities will be. Perhaps they will agree, perhaps not. Nevertheless, he has not applied for permission to take a trip so far.

Surender Bhutani, *United News of India*: Referring to your introduction, comrade, I wanted to ask the following. You criticized the role of the United States and what it is doing now. And yet considering the last 7 years, you are the only power to have maintained normal relations

with both Iraq and Iran. Is the fact—and this is the logical conclusion to be drawn from current events—that a serious war is taking place on your doorstep to be explained by a lack of consistent USSR policy, so that even now, with the present fighting going on, you still have not undertaken sufficient initiatives vis-a-vis Iraq and Iran, two countries that refuse to behave in a civilized way? How are we to interpret such a policy?

Gerasimov: Well, our country has been opposed to this conflict from the very beginning. From the very beginning we have condemned this war and called for an immediate stop. Our stance remains unchanged. Nevertheless, there are limits to activity by means of diplomacy. I do not think you mean we should engage ourselves in this conflict militarily, because that would mean joining one of the two sides, and this is not a suitable way to act at all. The right way is to use diplomatic means, and hence we are very pleased with the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution Number 598, which I mentioned before. Our stance is that we should monitor the implementation of this resolution. Patience is required here.

As far as our relations with Iraq and Iran are concerned, we have really managed to remain palatable in both capitals, if that is the right way to describe it. Thus, Yuriy Vorontsov, our first deputy foreign minister, recently visited both Baghdad and Tehran and told everyone he met to stop fighting. That was his message.

Alma Kadragic, ABC News: Mr Gerasimov, in the light of Kohl's statement and the U.S. announcement concerning verification several days ago, what are the current chances of a Gorbachev-Reagan summit this year?

Gerasimov: You must understand that the chances will not be assessed until the middle of September in Washington. These chances have increased because of Chancellor Kohl's gesture and because of the fact that there is going to be a working meeting between our diplomats in order to pave the way for a meeting between our minister and your secretary of state. But I do not want to speculate. There are so many different speculations making their rounds on this subject. *The Washington Post* wrote that Gorbachev has left the end of October and beginning of November free in his schedule and has not accepted any commitments for this period in case he goes to Washington. I do not think he will go so soon because we are still faced with the long road of preparing the treaty so that it can be signed at a summit meeting. So, I cannot give a more concrete reply to your question until 15 September.

Alma Kadragic, ABC News: As you probably know, Mr Gerasimov, the Polish Government has recently leased a DC8 airliner which I understand is meant to fly some routes on which LOT has previously used Ilyushin Il-62's. Does the Soviet Government have a stance in this matter? Is it for or against neighboring socialist countries leasing, and perhaps later buying, aircraft of Western manufacture?

Gerasimov: This is not a subject involving the government's support or disapproval. I think this is a matter concerning economic cooperation and trade. As far as I know, and I really do not know the results of tests, but as far as I know Soviet aircraft are highly reliable, but they are not very economical. Right now we are manufacturing new aircraft that will be more economical, but all in all our aircraft are very expensive to operate. However, they are cheaper to buy. So this is purely a matter involving trade. It seems to me that neither Poland, nor Czechoslovakia, nor any other country require Soviet approval when deciding what aircraft to buy. This is purely a matter of competitiveness, and should remain so. And it is also better for Aeroflot that such competition should exist.

Valentin Volkov, TASS: The Soviet Union has recently come out with what I consider an interesting idea of organizing an international conference on humanitarian affairs. What are the prospects for such a conference?

Gerasimov: We have suggested such a conference in Moscow; Minister Shevardnadze did so during his speech at the CSCE Vienna conference. That was quite a long time ago, almost 1 year has gone by since then. The Western countries have still not said yes to it. That is very interesting, because the Western countries like talking about human rights very much. They like saying how the Soviet Union ignores these rights. Yet when we make a direct proposal to discuss them in Moscow, they consider whether it is worth saying yes and coming to Moscow, making a final reply dependent on answers to questions such as: Will your dissidents be able to take part, or will Shcharyanskiy, or Plushch, or someone else be there? In the end they fail to say yes. It seems that this apparently odd stance by the West shows that as far as this topic is concerned, the West is to a considerable degree two-faced. I do not think the West would feel at home at this conference, which is meant to discuss the entire sphere of problems of human rights, not just the right to leave some country. That is why I think the West is still not ready for such a conference. In any case it is giving no reply. We will see what happens, though time is flying. We suggest holding such a conference in Moscow, under the same conditions as the ones under which they would be held in Brno, Madrid, or Stockholm within the CSCE framework.

Christopher Bobinski,*Financial Times*: How does the Soviet Union assess Stalin? And what is the Soviet view of the report by the commission which investigated the Polish air crash?

Gerasimov: As far as the Polish aircraft is concerned, I spoke to the comrades in the commission shortly before leaving for Warsaw. They did not give a reply to this question. So I quite simply do not know.

As far as an assessment of Stalin is concerned, I do not know that either. This is a very difficult problem for us. Stalin is part of our history. We achieved a lot during Stalin's rule, and at the same time he not only made

mistakes, but committed crimes. Nevertheless, an assessment of Stalin has been presented in party documents condemning the personality cult. Now, as you know or should know, a lot is being discussed on this subject in the USSR. A very interesting tale by Anatoliy Rybakov has appeared, "The Children of Arbat," in which the author tries to paint a psychological silhouette of Stalin, why he was so cruel, and what brought him to it. A shocking movie by the well-known Georgian producer Abuladze has appeared on the screens, called "Pokuta" ["Penance"], which also presents, by means of artistic expression, the very painful problem of mass repression. At the same time, we have people who believe that there was better order under Stalin, that under Stalin we were victorious, and that many soldiers died with the words "For the fatherland, for Stalin!" on their lips. All this happened as well.

Our history is so complex and tragic. That is why a final judgment about Stalin, in other words whether he was purely good, or purely bad, is quite simply impossible right now. Very many people say that this was a great tragedy for us. But there are also those who believe that one cannot erase the role he played in our history. So I would say that this period is still awaiting a final assessment.

Viktor Runo, TASS: The term "socialist pluralism" has recently gained a place in the political dictionary. We know what it means concerning Poland. But how do you understand the term?

Gerasimov: I do not like such ambiguous and enigmatic terms as pluralism. The term can be applied in very many ways: "political pluralism," or "party pluralism," or perhaps to describe various shades of public opinion. For example, we are holding discussions right now. I said that a discussion about Stalin is continuing in the columns of the press. Is this pluralism or not? Let us say that there is a discussion on the subject of the "Memory" ["Pamiec"] society. How is one to describe this society? What should be done about it? And so on and so forth. So this is just another term which anyone can supply with whatever meaning he likes. What is pluralism in Poland like? Perhaps the Poles know best what pluralism is and what it means. I would not like to theorize.

Janusz Grochowski, *Zolnierz Wolnosci*: You have already spoken about certain aspects of Soviet-American relations, but what do you think are the general prospects of Soviet-American talks in the immediate future. Could something else happen apart from the Shultz-Shevardnadze meeting?

Gerasimov: Generally speaking, our relations with the United States are currently developing to a considerably broader extent than several years ago. For example, there was a meeting of representatives of social organizations from the United States and Soviet Union in a city in New York State recently. This was the third meeting to be attended by 200 representatives of Soviet social organizations. Cultural contacts are also developing. The Jewish Theater recently performed with great success in the United States. Many other Soviet artists as well. Zaytsev, our well-known fashion designer, is going to the United States with his collection, with the intention of selling it. I can quote other examples of the the development of cooperation like this. However, trade relations are at a low level, mainly because of American restrictions; the Reagan administration recently restricted imports of Soviet textile products, and so on.

As far as political problems are concerned, from the point of view of plans we notice a major convergence with President Reagan. Reagan has said many times that his dream is to see a world free of nuclear weapons. Considering his age, he probably means that the world will free itself of nuclear weapons relatively quickly. We are also talking about this. On 15 January last year, we presented a concrete multistage plan on how to free the world of nuclear weapons. But as soon as convergence concerning plans is achieved, a drifting apart commences. While on the subject of convergence, I will recall that during the Geneva summit a formula was worked out which was later repeated by both leaders in Reykjavik, in other words both of them pledged that first they would aim to halt the arms race in space, and second that they would aim to prevent an arms race in space. We are completely in favor of this formula. Unfortunately, the Americans are not very much in favor. Negotiations are continuing in Geneva not only on the subject of operational-tactical and intermediate range missiles, which I have already mentioned. There are also negotiations on the subject of two other problem—reducing strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent and preventing the arms race from reaching space. The American stance concerning this third matter is stiff. President Reagan still believes he has to build a missile screen in accordance with his so-called defense initiative. We still believe that this is an invitation to develop the arms race in space, which can merely upset the situation. These are the chief differences dividing us.

As for medium range and operational-tactical missiles, if we sign an accord with the United States in this regard, the accord will be not be so important in itself because from the viewpoint of the nuclear arsenals of the two sides it will not affect a very large part of them. But it will be very important in that it will become the first ever accord on a genuine elimination, a genuine reduction of armaments. All the previous accords concerned the control [kontrola] of armaments. Examples of this are the 1963 Moscow accord on banning nuclear tests in three spheres and the 1972 Soviet-American accord on curbing, and not on eliminating, antimissile defense systems. All these and other accords concerned curbing or controlling armaments, but the accord in question will be the first on reductions in armaments. I think that this may have important psychological significance. People and world public opinion will see that weapons can really be scrapped. This would represent the first, decisive step toward genuine agreement if, I repeat, we succeed in signing it. And precisely because this is a decisive step, some forces in the United States and in Europe are

basically against this agreement. Peter Johnsson, *Goeteborgs Posten*, Sweden: Mr Gerasimov, I have two questions. I understand that individual travel between Poland and the USSR will be made easier in the near future. Could you tell us more accurately what is to be done to ease the present restrictions? Will it be possible for Poles to travel to the USSR without an invitation? My second question concerns historical relations between Sweden and the USSR. Could the Soviet Government resume investigations into the disappearance of Swedish diplomat Raul Wallenberg, who was seized by the Soviet security service in Budapest toward the end of World War II?

Gerasimov: People who want to travel to the USSR must first ensure accommodation. I think this is the only problem at present. Can people travel to the USSR without an invitation? They can even tomorrow, provided they pay for an Intourist excursion and for accommodation. Our authorities require an invitation only to make sure that travelers have assured accommodation. That is all. This for their own comfort. Well, these principles apply to everyone.

For example, foreign correspondents usually take advantage of this Intourist procedure or facility if they want to travel at once to the USSR without the protection of guides: They simply pay for an excursion, get automatically a tourist visa, and get on their way. No complications.

As for investigations into Mr Wallenberg's death, we have examined this issue many times. I think that in 1957 we established that he had died in a Moscow prison in 1947. The Swedish Government did not quite believe this information and has asked us many times to resume investigations. We have fulfilled its wishes, but we have always reached the same conclusion in the end. Wallenberg is dead, unfortunately, and I said this at one of my conferences on an anniversary of his birthday. We regret we are unable to establish additional facts. We are compelled to categorically state that Wallenberg is dead.

Gulio Geliebter, ANSA: Mr Gerasimov, you are now in Poland, the country of Pope John Paul II. Can I ask you why it was possible to invite him to Poland, but not to the USSR? Could you tell me and the Polish people the reason?

Gerasimov: Is the pope planning to visit Moscow? Has he applied for a visit to Moscow? I do not think so. It is possible that he wished to visit Lithuania, the Lithuanian Republic.

Geliebter: I wish to repeat my question because you have not answered it. Why do you not allow the pope to visit the USSR? He wanted to visit Lithuania and said that he would like to travel there, but the Soviet authorities refused to agree.

Gerasimov: I do not remember the exact reason why he would not be welcome in Lithuania, but I maintain that he did not want to travel to Moscow. It seems to me that the decision was made by the local authorities of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, and that is why I am hard put to take any stand on this issue.

Charles Gans, AP: Mr Gerasimov, could you appraise the Brezhnev era, especially Brezhnev's approach toward relations with Eastern Europe? Do you think that his approach was characterized by clumsiness and by attempts to impose diktat on Eastern Europe, especially on Czechoslovakia in 1968 and on Poland in 1980-81? Do you see any changes in Soviet policy toward Eastern Europe under your new leadership?

Gerasimov: I am sure you do not want me to lecture on history because the subject is very extensive: the evaluation of such a long period of Soviet history. All I can say is that we stress the complete independence of all socialist countries in their activities, including foreign policy. Speaking of Europe, it goes without saying that we are all members of the same alliance—the Warsaw Pact—and partners within CEMA, which means that all the socialist countries have to honor certain mutual obligations. But aside from this, every country fully follows its own principles. We also stress that we do not think that we possess answers to all questions. We are ready to listen to others and to their counsel and we are in favor of joint efforts to solve our problems.

Charles Gans: Is the so-called Brezhnev doctrine still valid?

Gerasimov: Actually, this doctrine has never existed. As for 1968, please note that the decision was made by all the Warsaw Pact states.

Pavol Minarik, *Rude Pravo*: Comrade Gerasimov, what can be expected of Mathias Rust's trial?

Gerasimov: The trial of FRG citizen M. Rust begins tomorrow and should end on 5 September at the earliest. Naturally, I have no idea about the outcome of this trial, but he may be jailed for 10 years in line with the penal code of the Estonian Soviet Republic because he violated the law by illegally entering Soviet territory, by misusing our air space, by committing hooliganism, that is, endangering the center of Moscow. Ten years in jail is the maximum punishment in his case, but it is for the court to determine what kind of punishment he receives. I do not intend to prognosticate how the court will deal with M. Rust.

Kumar Bhutani, *Press Trust of India*: Mr Gerasimov, recently the Western press has published articles about Soviet scientists' space achievements. These articles suggest that these achievements will revolutionize your farming and industry and even eliminate the need for nuclear reactors. How far are these articles true and when will the economic results suggested by these articles materialize?

Gerasimov: Please repeat what you have said about those articles and what they contain because I have not understood your point, I am sorry to say.

Bhutani: I have in mind the [London] *Times* article of 10 August, for example.

Gerasimov: What about?

Bhutani: About Soviet scientists' achievements in space....

Gerasimov: What about them?

Bhutani: They are supposed to revolutionize your farming and industry and will even make nuclear reactors superfluous. Chernobyls will become a thing of the past, and this will be your great success in the near future. I just wondered to what extent...

Gerasimov: I still do not understand. What will become a great achievement? Space Research?

Bhutani: Space research will influence your economy.

Gerasimov: If so, it must have been a good article.

Bhutani: Really good? I would like to know.

Gerasimov: I have not read that article, but from what you have said it seems to have been a very good article. We now have good achievements in space, and it goes without saying that they do a lot of good in other sectors. There are some things we can use here on earth. This is certain, but this does not mean that, for example, we will switch off all our nuclear power stations. No, certainly not. Unfortunately, we need them to produce electric energy.

Renata Marsch, DPA: Mr Gerasimov, Polish citizens wishing to go to the USSR had difficulties in the past. Is it possible that Poles will find it easier to obtain permission to go, say, to Lvov or Vilna, which for many Poles are cities of their youth?

Gerasimov: We are continuing to relax present restrictions. Regulations continue to be generally relaxed. Let us hope that entry into the USSR, especially from the socialist countries, will soon be easier.

Marsch: Forgive me for going back to tourist problems. Since the Polish border is not far from Lvov would it be possible for Polish citizens to make 1-day excursions, say, to Lvov even if they have no assured accommodation and invitations. Could they easily obtain visas?

Gerasimov: If you have the border traffic in mind, it will be made easier, but this will be done in the near future and not immediately. For example, we are thinking of joint ventures. In many cases plants situated on both sides close to the border are involved. I am certain facilities will be introduced in their case. I do not know the exact deadline, but I know that this is our policy line, a line we consistently follow. But I cannot give you an exact deadline for these facilities. Could you please ask questions of Mr Urban so I can listen for a change? I will speak later on.

Urban: Poland continues to ask for various facilities and wants them to be mutual. We are making progress. I know that this progress is most rapid with regard to the border traffic because of humanitarian considerations—families live on both sides of the border—and because this is technically the easiest thing to do. No resources, investments, and tourist facilities are needed. However, when I was in Lvov a very long time ago the city was full of Polish tourists.

Gorski: Do you have any questions for the Soviet press spokesman? If not, let Mr Jerzy Urban's conference begin.

Urban: Please let Mr Bobinski speak first because I did not answer his question.

Christopher Bobinski, *The Financial Times*: Minister, do you have anything to say about the most recent OPZZ-Solidarity contacts?

Urban: You have written in your paper about such contacts. Basically, I am here as the spokesman of the government. Trade unions do not necessarily inform us about their activities, unless they need to. I do know that Mr Alfred Miodowicz has never proposed that Mr Walesa should meet him. If the BBC quotes *The Financial Times* that Mr Walesa said something like that, then Mr Walesa is either forgetful or very greedy for meetings with prominent people.

It is true that Uzieblo, A. Miodowicz's deputy, did get in touch in the West with Jerzy Milewski, the representative of Solidarity's illegal structures. Uzieblo said that he had asked Milewski to disclose who wrote such a bad speech for him to make in ILO. I think that we should regard this as good manners on the part of the OPZZ deputy chairman rather than as a talk between two sides. As a participant in diplomatic receptions I have been able to note that Mr Uzieblo frequents Western embassies very often and that receptions in these embassies without Dr Onyszkiewicz are like receptions without whisky. It is therefore most probable that Mr Uzieblo gets into touch with Mr Onyszkiewicz in this way and exchanges courtesy remarks with him, which denotes civilized sociability rather than a political sensation.

As for the government's view of these events, we insist that Solidarity's structures are illegal, but that Mr Onyszkiewicz has all his legal rights. If Mr Onyszkiewicz went as far as to give an interview to the BBC about his talk with Mr Uzieblo, I am really surprised that he did this. After all, the Western mass media have made great publicity about the fact that Mr Onyszkiewicz is married to a granddaughter of Marshal Pilsudski. I am surprised that a man with such connections thinks so proud about having had a talk with the OPZZ deputy chairman. I think that this indicates that the status of the OPZZ, including its social status, continues to increase.

Stefan Kownacki, Radio Polonia: The authorities are being accused of regarding the 1980 August accords as a matter of remote history. How far do these accords still influence the government's present policy?

Urban: Forgive me the length of my answer. I have prepared a lengthy statement on the anniversary of the August accords, and your question makes it possible for me to read it out.

These accords are history, but not remote history. These accords and whatever Poland and Poles have experienced since continue to influence our present policy, which is rooted in the spirit and, to a great extent, in the letter of these accords. Their basic substance is and will be binding on the government. This cannot be changed by the fact that in 1980 these accords produced the political structures that broke the accords and above all tried to do away with their political platform.

The government has published several reports on implementing these accords and has done so this year as well. The report, which was only summarized by the press, is very detailed.

The process of renewal, agreement, and reforms has created much greater changes than those postulated in the August accords. This is so in the case of the development of people's rule, self-government, the rule of law, the manner of government, and the government's ties with society—with its different opinions, moods, and aspirations.

The Constitutional Tribunal, the State Tribunal, the Socioeconomic Council of the Sejm, the Consultative Council attached to the State Council chairman, present and future progress in the election regulations, the development of various self-government bodies, the press law, the constitutional guarantee for the permanence of private farms, the policy toward the Catholic Church, repeated amnesties—all these things are symptoms of realizing the policy that greatly outstrips the 1980 accords. Besides, we are on the eve of even greater reforms, primarily economic reforms, although not only economic ones. As for the economy, which is now the focus of criticism, the reforms that have already been carried out and that are being prepared are incomparably more extensive than the sketchy demands included in the 1980 accords.

Those who began to break these accords almost immediately after they had been signed are glaringly wrong when they tell Western journalists that just the holy mass broadcasts are the only thing left of those accords. Whoever watched the pope's Polish visit should decide for himself whether broadcasting holy masses is the only change in state-church relations. These broadcasts are not the only area of these relations in which progress has been considerable and enduring.

It is true that some postulates of the accords have not been fully implemented and some have not been implemented at all. The demand concerning housing was unrealistic. Still, the housing situation and neglect of medical services force us to honestly admit that these demands have not been fulfilled. We have presented the reasons for this.

Those self-styled guardians of the accords, who today represent mainly the policy of subservience to the Western political centers, assert that the accords' chief feature was demand for an independent trade union movement and for the right to strike and that this demand has not been met. A large number of Western press commentators express similar views on this issue.

This is not true. New trade union centers, including Solidarity, were legally set up and recognized on the strength of the accords. The activities of Solidarity leaders helped to transform it into a political movement in defiance of the accords. Basically, Solidarity leaders did not deny this fact. Departure from reforms in favor of confrontation and destruction compounded Solidarity's defeat, which was a defeat for Solidarity, the party, and Poland as such. The activities of Solidarity leaders brought the country to the brink of ruin. Solidarity's existence did not end on 13 December 1981. Solidarity was merely suspended. However, Solidarity leaders did not engage in the proposed discussion about the eventual reconstruction of a genuine trade union platform. What they did instead was to appeal for a boycott of work, for slow work, for a boycott of state and public life, and for taking Polish culture abroad.

As a result, the Sejm passed a new law on trade unions to create an independent trade union movement consistent with the spirit and letter of the August accords.

August accords did not provide for the existence of the Solidarity political movement. The policy of Solidarity leaders—the policy of destroying the economy, of terror by strikes, and of destruction of state structures made that specific experiment called Solidarity a failure and a blow against Poland's interests.

That is why the fact that Solidarity does not exist is a result of the confrontational attitude of its leaders and of the fatal harvest of their policy. The fact that Solidarity does not exist is no proof that the accords on independent trade unions have not been fulfilled. Trade unions are in action and have the right to resort to strikes as their ultimate weapons.

Those who have for years organized a boycott of trade unionism and a boycott of life—of life altogether—have proclaimed the slogan of slow work, have supported anti-Polish economic restrictions, have joined the Western anticommunist crusade, and receive foreign funds have nothing in common with the idea of August accords.

I wish to state that it is possible to abandon these positions. We do not create and will not create any imaginary adversaries, but we are waging and will wage the struggle against real adversaries in order to ensure that conditions for the present changes are better, that people are not afraid that the reforms can be abused and exploited against Polish interests, and that the cost of reforms is generally smaller. We do not deny the participation and services of those who in good faith continued

and continue to fulfill in various ways that which was most important in August 1980—to promote the idea of socialism without distortions, to overcome the crisis, and to ensure that the national economy regains its favorable rhythm and that profound democratic reforms are carried out in our political life.

We also regard a tremendous majority of members and rather large numbers of aktivs of former Solidarity as coresponsible for whatever has made the Poland of 1987 a qualitatively different country, one that has gone a long way through enormous experience, achievements, and deliberations. In the complicated process of combating emotions, traumas, and doubts they have been able to participate in agreement and in militant political, social, self-government, and trade union life, and to engage in fruitful work to overcome difficulties and speed up the country's development.

The complete realization of the August accords requires our ever-expanding national agreement to become a common front in favor of accelerating Poland's socio-economic development, scientific-technological and organizational progress, the efficiency of the state's socioeconomic organism, and the buildup of our country's international position. In other words, social support for reforms and economic progress achieved as a result of this support are the basic condition for further political transformations and changes in the manner of government. Without this progress, the foundations that are crucial for the permanence and effectiveness of these transformations will be lacking.

The 1980 accords constitute a permanent political achievement of our workers class, the renewal faction of Solidarity, all our people, the state authorities, the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD. These accords constitute a political achievement because they have established an enduring method of solving social conflicts consensus and agreement, a method that is binding on all Polish patriots. This is a crucial change in comparison with the conditions that existed before 1980.

Stojc Dizrich, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*: As you certainly must know, at this very moment the foreign minister of the Netherlands, who is on an official visit to Poland, is now having a lunch with Mr Walesa and other representatives of the opposition. Do you regard this lunch as part of the alleged antistate activities by these gentlemen? Do you think that the foreign minister of the Netherlands has abused the traditions of hospitality? Or do you regard all this as something directed against the Polish Government?

Urban: My answer is no, and I have no intention of expressing my views either about the people with whom our guests have lunch or, for example, about the contents of such lunches. Besides, I have no information about the first or the second event. All I know is the statement that the foreign minister of the Netherlands, who is visiting our country, made for the KRO [expansion not known] radio-television station. In this statement he said the following: "I also hope that our Polish hosts will show understanding for the fact that we come from a free country, in which we observe the custom of having talks not only with representatives of the government and with members of the opposition, but also with other groups of the people, which in Poland represent very specific interests. I have absolutely no intention of doing this in order to transmit a signal as such to the Polish Government that we would actually prefer to make contact with Polish representatives who are not linked to the government. No. It goes without saying that the basic purpose of our visit is contacts with the Polish Government." I acknowledge this statement.

Kay Withers: *Baltimore Sun*: Governor Mario Cuomo is supposed to have said in New York last week that the Polish Government opposed his plans to meet with Mr Walesa during his proposed visit to Poland at the end of this month. May I ask you to confirm this information? My other question: Will the ban on trade union pluralism be lifted on 8 October?

Urban: My answer to your first question is no, my lady. I know that the U.S. side has given up its previous plans, I mean the plan for Mr Cuomo's visit. This change of plans has nothing to do with whatever you have suggested here. It is common knowledge that various politicians, including American politicians, continue to meet during their visits with persons they wish to meet and that their wishes are never opposed or hindered.

Kay Withers: Governor Cuomo is supposed to have said last week that we would cancel his visit to Poland if it would be impossible for him to meet with Mr Walesa. What I wanted to do was to find out whether Cuomo's statement is true.

Urban: My lady, you have presented your viewpoint on this matter and I responded by presenting what the Polish authorities know about it. I can repeat what I have said. I know that Mr Cuomo—strictly speaking the American party that represented him on the matter in question—canceled the previous plans regarding a visit to Poland. Because you have linked this issue to the issue of a meeting with Walesa, I declare that the Western politicians, including the American ones, who come to visit our country, do not experience any difficulties in contacting just anyone they wish to contact. Your second question was no question. The trade union law states that only a single trade union organization can operate in a plant until the State Council sponsors a legislative initiative in another direction. Of course, what I have just said is not a quotation from legal regulations, but merely an interpretation of their meaning.

Waldemar Janiec, PAP: Minister, could you tell us about the realization of Polish-Soviet trade between January and June of this year?

Urban: First, I wish to say that our trade and payments with the Soviet Union have continued to be unbalanced since the beginning of the eighties. Our imports from the

Soviet Union still continue to outstrip our exports to it. According to our agreements, our trade and payments should become balanced next year. The present lack of balance in our trade and payments has been responsible for the fact that Poland now owes about R5.6 billion to the Soviet Union. This debt accumulated during a critical period of the Polish economy when we were simply unable to develop production and export to the necessary extent. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has continued to supply us all the time with goods in quantities that had been previously contracted. This has to be regarded as economic assistance for Poland. The basic part of Polish debts, which came into being at the end of the previous 5-year period, has been rescheduled by the Soviet Government for repayment in 1990. We are not far from the year in which our trade should become balanced. In the years after that we plan to achieve surpluses that would enable us to eliminate the deficits of 1986 and 1987. I admit that the slump in the prices for basic fuels and some raw materials imported from the Soviet Union will greatly help us to accomplish that task. The contracted implementation of the Soviet supplies of fuels and raw materials, which account for about 78 percent of our imports, is of key importance for the Polish economy and is decisively instrumental in helping the Polish industry and its plants exploit their production capacities.

In the first 6 months of this year the implementation of our tasks in trade with the Soviet Union developed less favorably, compared say, with the general results of our foreign trade. In the first 6 months of this year our export plan was fulfilled by 43.5 percent and our import plan by 45.3 percent. We failed to fulfill our planned export tasks to the tune of about R400 million and our import tasks to the tune of about R270 million. Our weakness is that we lack sufficiently attractive and modern export goods. This is especially true of the electroengineering industry. We continue to experience difficulties in mastering the operation of new machines and equipment.

This year's difficulties in exporting fresh and processed fruit and vegetables to the Soviet Union are a certain problem, though not a crucial one. The share of these products in our export to the Soviet Union is small and accounts for 3 to 4 percent of all our exports. This year has been disastrous for us insofar as the harvest of fruit and vegetables is concerned. We have almost no fruit and no vegetables. The yields have been very poor. We are looking for replacements to fill in this gap in our export.

As for consumer goods, Poland's deliveries of light industry products to the Soviet Union are below the targets stipulated by the accords. Soviet deliveries to Poland of refrigerators and television receivers are also insufficient. This is the present situation.

Sab'a Al Dar, *Al Ba'th*, Syria: Minister, Poland is slowly recovering its international position, and more and more Western statesmen continue to visit your country. Do you think that Poland's relations with the developing countries are not developing as quickly as they are with the developed countries?

Urban: I regret to agree with you insofar as economic relations are concerned. It is true that our economic relations with various nonaligned countries continue to develop in various ways and at various rates but such relations with very many nonaligned countries developing much too slowly—much too slowly for us. This applies especially to economic relations, and tourism is an area of the economy. Unfortunately, it is not a Polish speciality, but we would like to develop this area so that we both can make money. [last two sentences as published]

Stefan Kownacki, Radio Polonia: Minister, you have said in this hall that you do not know anything about whether Father Skucinski, who has been imprisoned in Iran, has been tried and sentenced. I, however, have received different information from our Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They know that he was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. How did this situation arise?

Urban: At that time we did not know, but we now know that Father Skucinski was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment in Iran. Father Skucinski has been visited in prison by Tadeusz Kohorewicz, the Polish ambassador. The Polish side is working hard to bring about the early release of Father Skucinski, and we have confidence in the positive attitude that the Iranian authorities have displayed toward these efforts. Besides, we have certain grounds for optimism.

Renata Marsh: I have one more question for Mr Gerasimov. Every year tens of thousands of Germans come to Poland and visit districts and villages in East Prussia, Pomorze, and Slask where they spent their childhood. However, they cannot visit the northern part of what was East Prussia, that is, the Kaliningrad region. Do you think there is a possibility that this region will become open to German or any other tourists?

Gennadiy Gerasimov: As far as I know, the region is closed to foreign tourists because it is considered a military district. That is the current situation. It is difficult to predict how things will look in the future.

Charles Gans, AP: I would like to ask the minister if he has any figures about the number of people who were detained during demonstrations or as a preventative measure on the 30 and 31 of August. I would particularly like information about the march that took place in Gdansk yesterday. Were any people detained there, and if so, how many?

Urban: I always try to have this kind of information with me. I am just looking for Gdansk now... A total of 18 persons were detained in Lublin, six of them were

released immediately, and the remaining 12 appeared before misdemeanor courts and were released after receiving fines. A total of seven people were detained in Wroclaw and they have already been released. Nobody was detained in Warsaw. I am still looking for Gdansk. I have no information to indicate that anyone was detained. Indeed, there were no significant incidents anywhere in Poland. The militia did not employ force anywhere as they had in previous years. As usual, some marchers did begin from a church in Gdansk, but the militia asked the marchers to disperse and they did.

Irena Czekierska, *Reuter*: I would like to ask Mr Gerasimov another question. There is great interest, at least in the West, in what is taking place in the Soviet Union under Gorbachev's leadership, in the policy of "glasnost" and restructuring. I would like to ask if, following your visit to Warsaw, you intend to visit other Eastern European capitals or states to exchange information on the subject of "glasnost" or to promote the policy of "glasnost," and whether we as journalists can expect to find it easier to work in these countries, by, for example, finding it easier to travel, to obtain visas, to become accredited, and to obtain access to information?

Gennadiy Gerasimov: At our press center in Moscow we try to do everything we can to make it easier for foreign correspondents accredited in Moscow to carry out their work and we find that few complaints are made, fewer than in the past. We are wrestling with our bureaucrats in the provinces, people who do not like visits from foreign correspondents. We are trying to convince them that this lies in our common interest, that is in their interest, because they must put things in order to be able answer questions correctly. As far as the situation in other countries is concerned, we are not trying to teach others. The policy is our own, and people in other countries can learn about it, and we can exchange experiences. For example, I came here to exchange experience of working with foreign correspondents. For example, there is a lot that we can learn from Mr Urban.

Jerzy Urban: I have already been to the press center in Moscow and I tried to learn everything I could there, and I tried to look for things that could be transferred to our own work place.

Leonid Toporkow, *Izvestiya*: I have a question for both Mr Gerasimov and Minister Urban. One can say that restructuring has covered all areas of bilateral relations between the USSR and Poland. I am interested in the information field. How do you view the further development of cooperation in this area?

Gennadiy Gerasimov: I expected this question, and that is why Minister Urban and I decided to hold a joint briefing as an expression of restructuring. The purpose of my visit to Warsaw was to hold consultations with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We discussed our problems in the information and propaganda fields, these areas are also in the process of being reorganized. I think that the exchange of experiences in this area will help us to inform world public opinion even better about our foreign policy and our domestic policy, that is, the way in which the restructuring process is progressing. We have definitely noticed that recently, over the last few months, every edition of the paper carries some interesting news from Moscow. This is an expression of the new policy of openness. It places additional responsibilities on information services, on, for example the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other ministries, and the government. We are currently discussing these responsibilities from a professional viewpoint with the aim of discharging them in the best possible way.

To give another example: The "Warsaw Days" festival will open in Warsaw's most elegant concert hall, the "Rossija" State Concert Hall, on 7 October. We, the citizens of Moscow, will see a ballet performed by the Warsaw Theater Wielki, a performance given by the "Contemporary" Theater, and concerts given by Poland's most outstanding musicians and singers in the popular music field. A exhibition of work by Warsaw artists will open at the House of the Artist. Polish films will be shown. A Polish-Soviet seminar devoted to current problems relating to the construction of socialism will also be held.

Urban: Our cooperation in circulating information has increased greatly in terms of quantity. More than 70 Polish editorial boards have cooperation agreements with Soviet editorial boards. It ought to be remembered that these are often enormous editorial boards, for example, those for radio, television, and press agencies. This year about 400 Polish journalists, excluding permanent correspondents, will visit the Soviet Union. Mention could also be made of the exchange of texts and editorial roundtable discussions and so on. At the present time talks are being held on the subject of joint printing undertakings. The fact that it is possible to receive Soviet television in Warsaw is important for Polish society. I know that the possibility of receiving Soviet television is being considered in other parts of our country. However, I think that qualitative changes are more important than quantitative ones. One can easily see from a glance at the Polish press how reports on the Soviet Union have changed, how it has become richer, and how it has become sensational in a positive sense. The Polish public has become significantly more interested in what is going on in the Soviet Union. The essence of the matter lies in these qualitative changes.

Janusz Sarosiek, *Interpress*: A question for Minister Urban. We are waiting for Vice President Bush to visit Poland. I would like to know what stage preparations for the visit are at and if there have been any new developments?

Urban: Preparations are progressing. A group of experts was in Warsaw to hold talks. The Polish side submitted a draft program for the visit. The proposals have been discussed and now both sides have passed them on to the

persons or state organs that decide about such matters. This is simply the first stage in preparations, which, in our opinion, are progressing well in a good, favorable atmosphere.

Maciej Gorski: Thank you very much. Are there any more questions?

Urban: There is still something I would like to say. I am sorry that this is taking a such a long time. You have probably become accustomed to having lunch at this time, but there a few things that I would still like to say.

I wish to respond to the public concern about price rises in Poland that is being indicated by various sources. I would like to say the following on this subject: the increases in prices that are still to be implemented as part of this year's program of price increases only apply, as was announced earlier, to the introduction of a new payments system for nurseries and kindergartens. It is envisaged that charges will be based on a family's per capita income. The purpose of this is to ensure that families with a low per capita income will not have to spend more. The higher a family's per capita income is, the more they will have to pay. The introduction of an average 30 percent increase in train and long-distance bus fares on 1 October has also been announced. The Government Press Office is receiving questions about whether there will be any additional movements in the official prices of foodstuffs that have not been planned. I would like to quote what we announced in March in the communique that accompanied information on the increases in the prices of foodstuffs that were introduced then. This year, that is, in 1987, there will be no further increase in official prices for basic foodstuffs unless agricultural output is significantly lower than predicted in the plan for 1987. So far nothing has happened that would make it necessary to change this position and according to the estimates that I have, this year's grain harvest will yield about as much as last year—which saw a rich harvest—although it is taking place late.

But, in connection with the great and obvious public interest in matters concerning prices, I would like to recall what Deputy Premier Zdislaw Sadowski said on this subject in the Sejm in July. With regard to essential increases in the prices of consumer goods, that is, increases that are necessary in general and not just this year, the government intends to be guided in its actions by strict adherence to the following principle: All price increases in consumer goods contained in a basket of basic commodities, which includes basic foodstuffs in particular, will be offset by an appropriate increase in people's incomes. Thus, there is no reason to fear price increases as they will be compensated for by increases in income with regard to this basket of basic commodities. Thus, conditions will be created to ensure that everyone will have an opportunity to receive full compensation for price increases affecting this basket of basic commodities within the framework of the planned increase in income. This form of compensation can be given various names; it can be called an inflation supplement or a increased cost of living allowance. The deputy premier went on to say that this mechanism makes it possible protect society from a fall in the standard of living and, at the same time, it will bring about an improvement in price ratios. He then went to discuss the possibility of obtaining higher pay by way of successful participation in economic processes. That is what I have to say on this important matter.

Now an entirely different area, that of Polish foreign policy: in Guatemala on 7 August, the presidents of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and El Salvador signed a document described as "A Procedure for Establishing a Definite and Lasting Peace in Central America."

The decisions contained in this agreement are an important factor for bringing a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America closer. This means a long and difficult but, in our opinion, irreversible process for solving the conflicts in Central America that will be engaged in by the states concerned and will take account of their interests. Only a peaceful resolution of the conflicts accompanied by mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, without the intervention of outside forces, can ensure a lasting peace in Central America.

It was possible to produce the agreements signed by the five presidents in Guatemala thanks to the efforts made over many years by the Contadora Group and its Support Group and thanks to the realistic position adopted by the Nicaraguan Government and its efforts to to bring about national unity.

The agreement has already resulted in developments aimed at giving more precise form to the principles that would permit national unity to be attained in the countries that are affected by domestic conflicts. A series of meetings at the foreign minister level with the participation of interested Latin American countries has taken place. The aim of these meetings was to work out international mechanisms that would ensure that the process is successful.

The Polish Government warmly welcomes the Guatemala agreement and the peace processes that have been initiated. They express a feeling of joint responsibility on the part of these states for peace and disarmament regardless of size, geographical location, and political system. The Polish Government is prepared to become involved in all initiatives aimed at achieving lasting world peace.

Now some information on another matter: on 4 December 1980 a terrorist hijacked an Antonov-24 passenger aircraft flying from Zielona Gora to Warsaw. He directed the plane to West Berlin. The terrorist was a certain Andrzej Perka. The plane then landed at Tempelhoff Airport in Berlin. In March 1981 a West Berlin court sentenced Perka to 4 years imprisonment. Perka explained that he had committed this act because of his

antipathy toward the nature of political relations in Poland and the type of system that exists in our country. On 1 July 1987 Perka was detained at a border crossing at Kunowice. He was returning to Poland on a consular passport issued by the Polish Military Mission in Berlin. So, he returned to Poland and was arrested at the border. Perka explained that he left prison in West Berlin in 1983 and then, as a free man, enjoyed the right of political asylum. He worked and had various unpleasant experiences there. He explained that he had returned to Poland because of qualms of conscience, a longing to see his native country and family, and for health reasons. The prosecutor decided that he should be arrested for the hijack of the plane, and on charges of endangering air traffic safety, possession of a grenade without a permit, and the use of force against the crew of the plane.

The investigation against Perka will be concluded in September and an indictment will be filed. I would like to explain that because of the sentence passed in West Berlin and because of the fact a trial will be held in Poland that may end in a similar sentence for the same crime, Polish law permits the sentence passed in Poland to be reduced by the duration of the period of imprisonment abroad, in this case that would amount to 2 and 1/2 years, because that is how long Perka spent in prison.

I would also like to say something—and this really is the end—on the subject of the problems connected with the misunderstandings and fuss surrounding the return of Polish tourists from Italy. What I have in mind is an article that appeared in the German *Die Welt* of 25 August and which I have before me. Mr Werner Kahl writes, I quote: "It is being conjectured in Italy that the Polish Government is interested in aiding emigration by generously issuing permits to travel so as to reduce unemployment. There is no doubt that these conjectures are rather more than pure invention." It is completely absurd and a deliberate attempt to mislead German public opinion to suppose that there is unemployment in Poland and that we are conducting a liberal passport policy so as to rid ourselves of part of our labor force and force it onto other labor markets, which are trying to protect themselves from this.

In July of this year there were 502,000 employment vacancies in Poland; 138,000 of these vacancies have been filled, leaving 363,000 still vacant. So, there were 500,000 vacancies in July and 5,300 persons were registered as seeking work, that is, there were about 100 vacancies for every person seeking work. But taking into account the entire period, there are about 70 vacancies for person seeking work in Poland. That is the answer to the suggestion that there is unemployment in our country and that we are trying to get rid of manpower.

I have received a message of protest from the people who I said had been sent back from the Italian border. In view of this, I would like to consider the subject once again, because I was also asked at a press conference about whether their return journeys had been paid for. I do not know about all of them, but I tried to obtain some information and, for example, nine of the people sent back from Rome Airport were clients of a travel agency. They had paid for places at a camping site and were to pay for board and travel themselves. These people had either travelled by automobile or had return plane tickets. The nine people had submitted statements to "Orbis" declaring that they had enough foreign currency to support themselves. Sixteen members of a group of 36 people traveling with the "Turysta" travel firm were sent back. All of them had paid for hotel rooms, board, international travel. They also had a Polish and an Italian guide. According to statements that were collected from them, they all had money, the amounts ranged from a minimum of $70 to several thousand dollars. So, the amount of money they had did not provide grounds for sending them back from the border.

I would like to say that as far as these incidents are concerned, we hope that they are just that,that is, incidents. In any event, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has held talks with senior representatives of the Italian Embassy in Warsaw with a view to settling these issues. We are optimistic that there will be no further rash moves on the part of the Italian authorities, moves that Polish citizens consider discriminatory and offensive. Substantive question pertaining to travel will be regulated through bilateral channels.

However, there still is the problem of those visitors from Poland who wish to remain and live in Italy. I think that a significant number of Polish Catholics listened carefully to what Cardinal Glemp, the Polish primate, had to say on this subject in a sermon that he delivered recently. He expressed surprise that people were abandoning their native land for an allegedly better life elsewhere. He said that it surprised him that people who were living there as beggars for several months had left Poland in their own automobiles. It seems terrible to him that people wait for several months without work, without any form of occupation. This demoralizes people. The primate asked why they had left their native country without good reason. The primate described the situation graphically: their automobiles are standing there, and they are standing next to them holding their mugs and waiting for a little soup. These people are educated. This is a case in which I can completely agree with the Polish primate.

S. Dietrich: I have a question for both ministers. Mr Urban, would you be embarrassed if I was to call you the discoverer of "glasnost." What I have in mind is not the word "glasnost" itself, but the policy of sincerity and openness in socialist countries. I would like to ask Mr Gerasimov if he would agree that Mr Urban deserves this title?

Urban: I think that is nonsense. Certain political circumstances made openness and candor in words and deeds a definite necessity in Poland at a different time. I think that your question suggests that you consider this development some kind of social game and that you do not appreciate the significance of the "glasnost" phenomenon in the Soviet Union. You should consider whether Nikita Khruschev ought not to be accorded the title.

Gerasimov: I personally agree that Comrade Urban deserves such a title more than I do. At the same time, I agree with him that it is not people we are concerned with here, but a political situation. We have been late with "glasnost"—I think that is how one can put it. Nevertheless we are trying to make good the delay. In any case, the word "glasnost" is our own word. Western correspondents sometimes call me 4 times G—Gospodin Gennadiy Glasnost Gerasimov. But that is just an anecdote. We are not concerned with my person, of course. The point is that we have tackled problems of reconstruction and democratization, and that is only possible when there is openness. Openness in our country is still not complete; it is being expanded all the time. That is what we are trying to do — expand openness.

Irena Czekierska: Excuse me, but I just want to ask Mr Gerasimov one last question. You said you could learn a lot from Mr Urban and the press conferences here. Are there any noticeable differences between Minister Urban's press conferences and your own conferences in Moscow?

Gerasimov: Yes, there are many. I believe we can learn a lot from each other. For example, correspondents in Moscow would be unable to bear over 2 hours of questions and answers. That is one thing I have to learn—how to keep correspondents interested for such a long time. Second, perhaps he already has all his answers ready, whereas I have to formulate them. So in this regard, too, I have a lot to learn from him.

Finally, I would like to say that we hold briefings on Tuesdays and Thursdays in Moscow. That is already an established custom, and for me Tuesday would not be Tuesday without a briefing. That is why I would like to thank Minister Urban and the *Interpress* Center management very much for letting me meet with the correspondents accredited in Warsaw. Thank you.

Urban: First, I wish to assure my Soviet colleague that no conference has ever lasted as long as this and never have so many journalists withstood a conference for so long, and that this can be attributed to the Soviet spokesman, not to me, because it is a great event in Warsaw to host a person whose name is one of the best-known names in the world and a symbol of Soviet "glasnost." Thank you very much for your kind words. I am grateful for the permission to hold a joint press conference. Concerning our kitchen [kuchnia—as published], we will hold a tete-a-tete, because I think it is better to reply from memory, if one's head has the capacity of a computer.

[Footnote] G. Gerasimov's replies are not authorized.

## Dascalescu Begins Tour of North Africa

### Leaves for Tunisia

*AU210954 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0941 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/9/1987—Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, left on Monday, September 21, for the Republic of Tunisia and the Kingdom of Morocco, on official visits as guest of the respective countries' prime ministers.

The Romanian prime minister was seen off at the Otopeni Airport by Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister, by other officials.

### Meets Tunisian Prime Minister

*AU220804 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0716 GMT 22 Sep 87*

[Text] Tunis, AGERPRES, 22/9/1987—Romania's Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu arrived in the capital city of the Republic of Tunisia on Monday, September 21, for an official visit at the invitation of the Tunisian Prime Minister Rachid Sfar.

The same day official talks started between the two premiers.

The talks highlighted that the harmonious development of the Romanian-Tunisian links in all areas of common interest were underlain by the understandings covenanted at highest level, by the results of the fruitful dialogue between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Habib Bourguiba. The talks between the two heads of state, the accords signed during summit meetings provided a solid foundation for the friendly ties between Romania and Tunisia, conferring on them lastingness, perspective and dynamism in full harmony with the two peoples' interest in economic and social development, independence and freedom in a world of peace, understanding and cooperation among all nations.

The talks focused on the state of bilateral relations and the identification of new possibilities of explaining mutually advantageous cooperation in domains of joint interest, of intensifying and diversifying economic cooperation, increasing commercial exchanges so that they double by 1990.

Expressing their satisfaction at the results scored so far in Romanian-Tunisian cooperation, the two prime ministers agreed that the cooperation between the two countries' economic ministries, trading enterprises and firms be intensified to the end of diversifying cooperation ventures by carrying through further projects more particularly in port, road and industrial building, dam and waterpower plant building, hydrological research as well as in other areas of reciprocal interest.

To confer stability and perspective on bilateral economic links, the two prime ministers decided the covenanting and signing of a long-term programme-agreement on the expansion of economic, technical and scientific cooperation and of commercial exchanges between the two countries. Aspects of broadening the juridical framework of economic cooperation were also approached.

Views are exchanged during the talks on major problems of the current international situation.

The talks were attended by Romanian and Tunisian officials.

The talks continue.

On Monday afternoon, the Romanian prime minister and his party visited the Museum of Tunisian Martyrs.

The Tunisian prime minister gave an official dinner in honour of the Romanian prime minister, an opportunity for the two prime ministers to express the conviction that real possibilities existed to develop the mutually advantageous Romanian-Tunisian cooperation on multiple planes and to propose a toast to the health of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of President Habib Bourguiba, to the attainment of the aspirations for progress of the two friendly peoples.

## Ceausescu Receives Sri Lankan Ambassador

*AU211729 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1739 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/09/1987—President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received, on Monday, September 21, Thelmuth Harris Wilhelm Woutersz, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka in Romania.

Salutes were exchanged on the occasion between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and J.R. Jayewardene.

In the ambassador's address stress is laid on the relationships of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, and the wish is expressed to further expand them in various fields of activity.

In President Nicolae Ceausescu's address of reply, the durable links of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Sri Lanka are evoked and it is shown that large possibilities exist for their further development, in policy, the economy and other domains, in the interests and to the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding the world over.

It is also stressed that conditions are in place for Romania and Sri Lanka to develop a fine collaboration internationally, in the struggle for removing the war danger, halting the arms race and passing to disarmament, nuclear first of all, for solving all disputed issues among states only by peaceful means, by negotiations, to ensure peace on our planet.

After the presentation of credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu had a talk with Ambassador Thelmuth Harris Wilhelm Woutersz.

The credentials presentation ceremony and the talk were attended by Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## CSSR's President Husak Begins 3-Day Visit

### Arrives in Belgrade

*LD211212 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR and general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived this morning for a 3-day official visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency and Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. He is returning the visit which Mika Spiljak, as president of the Yugoslav Presidency, paid to Czechoslovakia in 1984.

At the Belgrade airport the guest from Czechoslovakia was given a formal weocome with the highest state honors. He was welcomed and greeted by Lazar Mojsov, president of the Yugoslav Presidency; Bosko Krunic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Marjan Rozic, president of the Yugoslav Assembly; Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC; Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary of foreign affairs; Vukoje Bulatovic, vice president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia; FEC member Mito Pejovski; Stanislav Stojanovic, an executive secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade city assembly; Col Gen Veljko Kadijevic, deputy federal secretary of national defense; and other figures. [passage omitted]

The official Yugoslav-Czechoslovak talks will begin in the afternoon. Lazar Mojsov and Gustav Husak are expected to exchange views on all the aspects of bilateral cooperation, which is friendly and has a long tradition. They will also discuss current international questions, especially the developments in Europe.

Tomorrow the guest from Czechoslovakia will have talks with Bosko Krunic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

The visit by the Czechoslovak state and party leader to Yugoslavia will last until Wednesday. On the last day of his stay in our country Gustav Husak will visit Zagreb and have talks with senior officials in the SR of Croatia.

### Meets With Mojsov

*LD212016 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Excerpts] Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and president of the republic, has begun his official friendly visit to the SFRY. Jindrich Malota, our special correspontent, reports from Belgrade on the 1st day of his visit. [passage imitted]

[Malota] Shortly after 1600 official talks started in the palace of federation in Belgrade between Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and president of the republic, and Lazar Mojsov, president of the Presidium. The talks were conducted in the presence of delegations from the two countries. [passage omitted] Members of the Yugoslav delegation are: Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Mito Pejovski, member of the FEC and chairman of the Yugoslav part of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation; and other Yugoslav political figures.

Attention was paid primarily to questions of developing Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations in all spheres. Special emphasis was place on developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Both sides expressed interest and willingness to implement to a greater extent higher forms of cooperation, such as specialization, cooperation, establishement of direct relations between enterprises and scienfific-technical institutes of the two countries, and cooperation in third markets. Also on the agenda of the talks were exchanges of views on the present international situation which, as both sides noted, requires a responsible and active approach to settling the vital question of the moment—preserving peace.

In this connection, they valued positively the signing of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on removing medium-range missiles which is being prepared. This evening, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidium, will present Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and president of the republic, the highest Yugoslav distinction, the Order of Yugoslav Grand Star, in recognition of his exceptional contribution to developing fraternal cooperation between the two countries. He will then give a gala dinner in honor of the Czechoslovak guest.

The visit by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and president of the republic, to the Yugoslav capital so far fully confirms that socialist Czechoslovakia and socialist Yugoslavia share an identical interest in providing dynamism to and broadening of mutual contacts in all spheres, as they correspond to the interests of peoples in both counties and the need to create a favorable political atmosphere on our continent.

### Discusses Joint Relations

*AU211920 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] The official political talks between Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR, who is paying an official and friendly visit to our country, have started in Belgrade.

Our colleague Branislav Canak has just returned from the Palace of the Federation where the talks were held. Here is Branislav Canak:

First of all let us mention what is usually said when foreign guests visit our country, namely that the talks were held in a cordial atmosphere. Gustav Husak even remembered the days in his youth when he visited Yugoslavia, not as a politician but as an ordinary citizen, and all other visits that, as he said, strengthened the traditionally good friendship between the two countries.

Today's talks concentrated on two themes: bilateral relations and international matters. As far as bilateral relations are concerned, it was concluded that both sides want their relations, which are described as very good, to continue that way as well as to be updated according to world needs, needs imposed by the current world economic relations.

As far as traditional relations between Yugoslavia and the CSSR are concerned, it was pointed out that one of the key issues that contributed to the development of these relations is represented by President Tito's visit to the CSSR in 1973, when principles on which all relations between Yugoslavia and the CSSR were established. Economic relations, said to be dynamic and successfully developing, are being conducted in a fairly obsolete way that does not suit the current conditions of international cooperation. In connection with this both sides expect great stimulus from these talks as well as from a long-term agreement on economic and scientific-technical cooperation until the year 2000, which will be signed tomorrow evening in Belgrade.

The basic desire, as far as economic cooperation is concerned, is to modernize it, and, as I said, to base it on the higher forms of cooperation, in other words to expand it to include specialization and even the formation of joint enterprises for entering into third markets, and direct cooperation between two enterprises, something that has now been made possible.

It was also concluded that other forms of cooperation between the CSSR and Yugoslavia are developing very well. This refers to cooperation in information exchange, culture, and sport. They also said that significant cooperation also exists at the republican and provincial level and among sociopolitical organizations. This cooperation will be discussed more during the meeting between Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and the prominent guest from the CSSR.

Let me also say that in these talks they exchanged views about internal political and economic situations in the two countries.

Did they talk about international matters? I assume that the two presidents also spoke about the missile agreement. Of course.

This is the latest event which at the same time illustrates what had been assessed by the two presidents, namely that one can conclude that an improvement in international relations is taking place and that this improvement is opening up new possibilities for the implementation of the policy of detente, which has been forgotten for some time. Both sides concluded, however, that this was only one of the ways for solving world problems and that there are still many other things to be done. In connection with this they also spoke about the hot beds of crises such as those in southern Africa, the Middle East, the Gulf and Iran-Iraq War, Central America, Cambodia, and Afghanistan. One can conclude that a high level of understanding about these issues was reached, but, of course, with some already well-known differences.

They also discussed international economic matters, the CSCE talks, and cooperation in the Balkans. At the end Gustav Husak invited Lazar Mojsov to visit Czechoslovakia, which was accepted with pleasure. A festive dinner is planned for later tonight at which toasts will be exchanged.

### Leaders On Soviet-U.S. Accord

*LD212136 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2059 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Belgrade, September 21 (TANJUG)—The principled agreement between the Soviet Union and the U.S. on eliminating shorter- and medium range nuclear missiles is a historic chance which must not be missed, Yugoslav State Presidency President Lazar Mojsov and Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak jointly assessed today.

Czechoslovak state and party head Husak today arrived on an official visit to Yugoslavia.

Mojsov and Husak said the U.S.-Soviet accord could strengthen international confidence and create a more favourable political climate for solving other current world problems.

It was also stated that the fate of the world must not be left in the hands of the two superpowers and that all countries have to tkae part in determining it.

The two leaders also discussed European trends, primarily initiatives for creating a nuclear-free zone in Europe, [words indistinct] crisis spots in the world. It was assessed that, with the exception of the problems of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the two countries have similar stands on these issues.

Assessing Yugoslav-Czechoslovak cooperation as very successful, especially at the economic and cultural levels, Mojsov and Husak pointed out the needs and scopes for its further promotion.

Mojsov and Husak agreed in the assessment that economic cooperation, which annually stands at around 1.5 billion dollars, should be expanded through coproduction, specialization, joint performance on third markets and joint enterprises.

The two sides invest major hopes in a long-term agreement on economic and scientific-technical cooperation by the year 2000 to be signed tomorrow.

Husak invited the Yugoslav state presidency president to visit Czechoslovakia. Mojsov accepted the invitation.

Lazar Mojsov this evening presented to the Czechoslovak state and party leader the Order of the Grand Yugoslav Star, the highest Yugoslav decoration given to foreigners.

### TANJUG Notes Differing Views

*LD212227 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The promotion of bilateral cooperation was the central theme of the official talks between Lazar Mojsov, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, and Gustav Husak, president of Czechoslovakia, which began this afternoon in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade.

The two presidents assessed that despite the very high level of that cooperation, there are still opportunities in economic, cultural, and other spheres for cooperation, relying on the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries and the positive experiences over many years.

Today's exchange of opinions proceeded in a very friendly and cordial atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding.

The interlocutors concurred in their assessment that in economic cooperation, valued annually at $1.5 billion, it is necessary to get out of the rut and look for further development and cooperation, specialization and joint representation in third markets, as well as opportunities for creating joint enterprises. Both sides place great hopes in the long-term agreement on economic and scientific-technical cooperation up to the year 2000, which is to be signed tomorrow.

It is the aim of both sides not to permit stagnation or even any decline in economic cooperation, but rather to maintain and enhance the positions they attained. Both sides desire to be mutual, stable, and reliable partners.

There was also discussion about promoting cultural, touristic, information, and other cooperation.

It was assessed that Gustav Husak's current visit to Yugoslavia will contribute to such mutual efforts. The Czechoslovak guest evoked memories of his meeting with President Tito on the occasion of a visit to Yugoslavia in 1973. This meeting—it was stated in the talks this evening—was a turning point in bilateral relations. At that time, the principles—which even today represent the irreplaceable basis for mutual relations—were established, namely the principles of equality, independence, noninterference, respect for individual paths of internal socialist development and differences in international positions.

The interlocutors also exchanged opinions on topical international problems. Attention was devoted primarily to the encouraging signs of an improvement in the international climate. In this context, both sides assessed that the agreement in principle between the Soviet Union and the United States on eliminating shorter- and medium-range missiles represents a historic opportunity which must not be lost.

The view was expressed that world public opinion and the stands of nonaligned countries had a significant impact on the agreement between the two superpowers. Mojsov and Husak assessed that this agreement could strengthen confidence in international relations and create a more favorable political climate for solving other topical international problems.

At the same time, however, it was established that the world's destiny cannot be left to the two superpowers alone, and that all members of the international community should take part in world affairs.

Mention was also made of hotbeds of crisis, European trends, initiatives for creating nuclear-free zones in Europe, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the situation in Central America, and other questions. With the exception of the problems of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the two sides had a high level of identical or similar stands.

Gustav Husak and Lazar Mojsov informed each other about internal developments in their countries.

The Czechoslovak president invited the president of the SFRY presidency to visit Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

The Yugoslav-Czechoslovak top-level talks will be resumed tomorrow.

### Citizen Flees Albania, Escapes to SFRY

*LD182104 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 18 Sep 87*

[Text] Struga, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—Albanian citizen Ljutvi Kadri (20), an agricultural technician from the village of Trebisht, escaped to our country at the border crossing point near the village of Modric on the Yugoslav-Albanian border.

The municipal magistrate's court in Struga sentenced him to 30 days in prison. Kadri declared in court that he made his decision "because of the difficult economic life in Albania".

### Assembly to Announce Presidency Composition

*LD211924 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Summary] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—A joint session of both houses of the Yugoslav Assembly will be held on 1 October to proclaim Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency. The composition of the SFRY Presidency will also be announced.

### Mikulic Discusses Economy With Exporters

*LD190923 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 18 sep 87*

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—Work is about to be completed in the FEC on the analysis of the functioning of the economic system and excessive normativism at all levels, from the federal to the municipal. This was said by FEC President Branko Mikulic during a meeting with about 100 eminent Yugoslav businessmen at the Zagreb Autumn Fair.

During this traditional meeting between representatives of the largest export organizations from all over the country and the president of the FEC and his aides, there was a discussion about the problems essential for defining the country's economic policy for the coming year. Antun Milovic, president of the Croat Executive Council, was the host of the FEC president.

Over 20 businessmen, including Milan Pavic, president of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy [PKJ], expressed their views of the present economic moment. In a 3-hour meeting they put forward their proposals for the promotion of the foreign exchange and accounting systems, price relations, as well as for overcoming the development problem. Quoting the economic management figures for the past 8 months, Milan Pavic called for changes to stimulate the present restrictive and defensive economy in favor of the offensive and the mobilization of significant economic potential of the country. The president of the PKJ warned of negative tendencies in majority of economic indicators—a fall in industrial production, increased consumption in areas that should be stamped out, and an absence of progress, which in the long run leads toward technological backwardness.

A great deal was said about problems of agricultural production, especially the administrative formation of prices, and objections were again raised regarding the living standards of the Yugoslavs which can no longer be protected at the expense of thse employed in the agroindustrial complex. This part of the economy is in particular trouble because of the accounting system, which does not take into consideration a long production cycle.

The same objection was raised by representatives of shipyards who pointed out that up to the year 1990 they signed contracts to the value of $2 billion, but that such business transactions are called into question because of uncertainty concerning the final income from this kind of export orientation.

The majority of businessmen spoke about the difficulties facing the exporters and the unfavorable reflection of export activity on the increase in income and on development. Bozidar Francic was among those with conventional views; he spoke about a problem of business pragamtism in the everyday life of the economy, which does great damage because of a slow procedure in issuing various permits and documents. He illustrated this with an export agreement, for which 30 permits were needed, that took 2 to 3 months to acquire and caused 4 billion dinars of damage.

In his reply to the businessmen Nenad Krekic, federal secretary for foreign trade, announced changes to the foreign exchange law, which basically means that they will be introduced in relations toward exporters [as received], and that the realized income from exports will be linked with import rights. The amendment of article 100 will encourage the interest of commercial banks in the exports of their customers, while both banks and savings bank customers will be encouraged to save foreign currency.

Branko Mikulic thanked the businessmen for their useful suggestions and noted that the level of agreement between the FEC and the economy is much higher than between the FEC and other structures. This encourages and strengthens the FEC in its conviction that it should continue with its present policy of the consolidation of market criteria and economic responsibility.

In the words of its president, the FEC will soon present to the SFRY Assembly its views on the foreign debt problem and the rescheduling of Yugoslavia's debts in order to create conditions for development. Mikulic said that he believes in the ability and strength of the Yugoslav economy to overcome the crisis, but he warned that there should be no hestitation when it comes to the realization of our own strict program of economic stabilization.

Mikulic also recalled the sources of our economic difficulties, particularly the previous periods when the established measures were renounced because of the difficulties; many of the present difficulties are in fact a reflection of the problems accumulated over the years. Mikulic noted that we would have had fewer difficulties had we carried out the necessary changes in the economic system 10 years or so ago, but that it would be easier to bear them than in 10 years' time. The FEC president announced an operational program for overcoming the crisis and curbing inflation, the problem of price relations being the primary one.

## TU Official Gives Details on Year's Strikes

*LD211635 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1452 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Belgrade, September 21 (TANJUG)—There were 978 strikes with over 150,000 participants in Yugoslavia this year, Yugoslav trade union leadership member Stojan Stojcevski said today.

The statement was made at a news conference on tomorrow's session of the Yugoslav trade union leadership devoted to the strikes.

Stojan Stojcevski assessed that this year's strikes in Yugoslavia were different from previous strikes because workers protested not only over their salaries but also over increasing costs of living, bad management in enterprises, bad working conditions, the interventionist law on salaries and other similar reasons.

The strikes lasted from several hours to over a month. The longest strike, lasting 34 days from April 8 to May 11, was at the Rasa mines in the Croatian town of Labin.

There were 851 strikes in Yugoslavia in 1986 with 88,860 participants.

The Yugoslav trade union leadership will tomorrow vote on draft amendments to legal regulations on strikes.

### Footware, Plastics Workers Strike over Pay

*LD211951 Belgrade TANJUG DomesticServicein Serbo-Croatian1317 GMT*

[Summary] Knjazevac, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Most of the 1,000 or so workers on the first shift at the Leda footwear and plastics industry in Knjazevac stopped work today, demanding increased personal incomes and a reduction in the number of management staff. Talks are being held with self-management and managerial organs.

### Further Reportage on Agrokomerc Affair

#### Bank Unable To Pay Salaries

*LD191037 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0803 GMT 18 Sep 87*

[Text] Velika Kladusa, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—About 16,000 people employed by Velika Kladusa firms have not been paid their August salaries. This is a direct consequence of the liquidity problems of the Privredna Bank of Bihac, which was involved in the Agrokomerc affair. Despite the fact that they have been working round the clock to establish the facts and the scope of the Agrokomerc affair, workers in successful firms, such as Saniteks, and those employed in the secretariat for internal affairs, social accountancy service, and the judiciary have not yet been paid their salaries for August.

#### LC Plenum Addresses Problems

*LD191424 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0738 GMT 19 Sep 87*

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—The case of Agrokomerc is a sabotage against the strategy of the LCY and the practical forms of the struggle of the Bornia-Hercegovina LC. With the Agrokemerc affair our overall internal and political situation has become more difficult and complex, and it has not been without negative consequences for the reputation and position of our economy, of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and of our country in the world.

This was emphasized by Milan Uzela, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, in the opening speech at today's session of the Central Committee, which is considering the tasks of Communists in overcoming the economic and political consequences of the unlawful business dealings and antiself-management behavior in this collective and in Velika Kladusa.

Stating that this affair is the heavist blow from this republic to the strategy and policy of the LCY, Uzelac said that its proponents have directly attacked our policy of reliance on our own resources with which we have for many years guaranteed the successful development of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Milan Uzelac then spoke about the relationship of Agrokomerc's development policy with the established development policy of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and refuted the theses of the former management board and those who supported it that this republic had not given sufficient resources for business dealings and its development. With such a thesis, apart from fuelling localistic passions, they sought to justify unlawful actions, and particularly the preparation for breaking the regulations on promissory note dealings. Speaking about current criticisms that the development of Agrokomerc was peripheral in relation to other agro-combines, Uzelac refuted this with the information that Agrokomerc had a share in the federal fund and republican fund of 18.5 percent, AIPK Bosanska Krajina had a share of 23.6 percent and AUPI Sarajevo a share of 22 percent. These are not all the resources invested in this branch of the economy, but from them it is evident that this collective had a relatively high share of the utilization of the financial resources allocated by the republic for the realization of their development programs.

In the case of Agrokomerc it is obvious, said Uzelac, that elementary economic logic, the limited nature of realistically available resources, was neglected and that a praocess and grouping of forces began to annul it by other means, by usurping power at the local level and by methods of pressure on legal organs which unavoidably ended in illegality. The idea of imposing their own concept independently from the decisions of society, from economic, legal and self-management regulations, independently form the policy of the LC, necessarily led to a subjugation within their own environment.

The management board gradually asserted its position as the only real and uncontrolled pwoer in the whole area. Also unnoticed were changes in the organization of Agrokomerc during 1986, under the name of self-managing transformation; these were in fact motivated by so-called modern dynamic development, which even the plans' authors did not hide. The crux of the matter is that all relations between workes' and basic organizations of associated labor were constituted in such a way that all the power was concentrated in the hands of the management board.

According to the assessment of Uzelac, the process of combining the institutions of the system in the municipality with the technocratic structure was in this way accelerated. Stating that the entire social and political life had literally moved to Agrokomerc, he said that the LC municipal organization had succumbed to this pressure primarily because it consisted mainly of cadres from this collective. Saniteks, the only organization of associated labor of any importance other than Agrokomerc, was gradually overshadowed and a conflict unavoidably arose. Taking everything into account this was not the conflict of two types of business, as some wanted to present it, but an obvious attempt to "suck in" and to subjugate Saniteks, because Agrokomerc went beyond its own programs to others, among them pharacology. By the same logic it was also necessary to subjugate other institutions that are vertically linked by the nature of their functions to the republic. It was here Hakija Pozderac appeared, as a patron and helping hand. He took

on some functions of amateur social involvement and persistently worked to impose the interests of the management board, which even went as far as a direct involvement in cadre policy and the placing of people in appropriate positions.

For the technocrats in Agrokomerc who wished to compare themselves with multinational companies in obtaining of unlimited resources for their plans, voluntary contributions were not used as a means for democratic mobilization but a means of leading people astray and subjugating them. Stating that of all the distortions this was the most serious, Uzelac added that this was a political base for the stifling of all criticism and for isolation, which was realized in very crude ways. The idea of "devotion to your birthplace" was taken to absurdity; everyone was born in that area but did not go along with this was thrown out, isolated, and cut off. By these criteria the republican cadres were divided, as well as the intermunicipal organs. The peak of megalomania and attempts to extend the area of local power was the idea of also creating their own information system.

In the opinion of Uzelac, the technocratic variation of the ideology of localism could not help, objectively, beginning to flirt covertly or openly with nationalism. [passage omitted]

The president of the Presidium assessed that out of this economic localism and egoism has grown a political autarchy based on the blockading and isolation of important institutions of the system. Only the security service has penetrated this blockade, and in the first collision they came up against the phenomenal forms of illegality, the like of some of which, in their audacity, have not been encountered in practice hitherto. These were the external indications of the underlying subversive activity—the illegal transactions in uncovered bills. This is why the process of uncovering the initial scale of the affair is proceeding slowly and with great difficulty. The initial reason for the confrontation of the competent organs of the republic with this phenomenon were the resistance to control, the politicization of measures and actions of the competent organs which developed into an open conflict with the security organs and other forms of control.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, in a debate on these issues at the beginning of June, resolutely engaged itself in dispelling the fallacy that it was the work of the control organs, the uncovering of illegalities and their first presentation of them that were the cause of the problems in business activities, rather than the opposite, that its professional reputation was being destroyed by those who were carrying out illegal actions and that it was they who were obliged to give accurate information to the workers and the public.

Uzelac stated that the Presidium had taken measures to see that its stances and conclusions are carried through and at the same time had supported the initiatives of the Executive Council. The Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium had got down to assessing the situation and had established their stances. Political action was arrived at in these areas that has shown the extent of the damage inflicted and how painful the sobering up is in the leaderships, the LC organizations, and further afield. At the same time, has shown the extent of the political potential for courage and readiness to change the situation. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the public press, he said that it had played a positive role and made an important contribution in illuminating the destructive nature of this phenomenon. It should be particularly stressed that the action of the LC, particularly in the organizations and leaderships in that part of our republic, was strongly supported in the greater part of the public press. This shows that when the LC goes into action, when it debates problems openly and democratically, the public press is an important factor of democratic debate and the ideological and political struggle of the LC.

In the view of Uzelac, a part of what has been written and published cannot be supported because political orientation would otherwise be lost. In certain public newspapers preconceived ideological and political stereotypes and prejudices on how things should be written and how phenomena and events in Bosnia-Hercegovina should be treated have been applied. Stating that there are unprincipled generalizations that equate Agrokomerc with the policies of the republic and its organs, he stressed that there should be strong opposition to identification of the people of this region with the brokers of Agrokomerc and to the chauvinistic advocating of the theory that it is a question of "genes of a non-European mentality."

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium is unanimous in its view that those assessments which want to accuse the whole republic, its institutions and its political organs, are not acceptable. Certain publicly stated assertions that the most responsible organs in the republic hushed up and supported such machinations should be energetically rejected. The Presidium considers that there should be resolute opposition to any pressure aimed at destroying and dividing the political leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina and which denies the dignity of the cadres of Bosnia-Hercegovina working within the organs of the federation.

Stressing that the determination is firm that this situation should be examined and resolved within the framework of the constitution and the law, Uzelac said this means that any attempt to narrow the framework of establishing responsibility should be rejected, but that the attempt to propose a boycott of the economy, to restrict business dealings with organizations and not to accept the cheques of citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina should also be rejected.

The Presidium considered that measures of ideopolitical responsibility should be given priority, particularly those where it is expected that the Presidium should set them

in motion and propose political decisions on them to the Central Committee. The Presidium supported the view of the Executive Council that the republic cannot be the guarantor for taking over credits on the money market. Any eventual commitments for associated labor can be adopted by the competent organs and only on the basis of thorough analysis. We advocate that the real state of affairs, the business and financial dealings, and the available property are established as soon as possible, and that experts from the republic and the country as a whole are involved in this, and that the work should be done legally, professionally, and publicly.

Speaking about the resignation of Hamdija Pozderac, Uzelac said that this move was also an act of personal and political integrity, and at the same time a reflection of an attitude toward responsibility which has developed in the LC Presidium and in other organs of the republic in connection with the situation created by the promissory notes affair. In this connection I wish to inform the Central Committee that the Presidium had also examined the publication of part of Hamdija Pozderac's report at the session of the management board of Agrokomerc on 22 January 1984. In the discussion the authenticity of this text was contested, as well as the regular channels through which it reached the public. The Presidium reached the conclusion that this should be examined and the Central Committee informed. [passage omitted]

The president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium briefed the Central Committee on the proposal that Fikret Abdic be expelled from the Central Committee and the LCY. At the same time a proposal was adopted where by the Central Committee is to charge the Presidium to examine all the relevant facts related to the degree of ideopolitical responsibility of Hakija Pozderac, and to establish this responsibility in keeping with the Statutes of the LCY and the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC. Uzelac also informed that the Presidium is proposing to pass a decision in the LCY in keeping with the statute charging the municipal committees in Cazin and Velika Kladusa to prepare extraordinary LC conferences at which an analysis of the sociopolitical situation would be carried out.

Speaking about the forthcoming LC action Uzelac said that Agrokomerc is an ideal example of how the LC, its leadership and members should not pass decisions from the sphere of reproduction and development and economic policies, repressing the responsibility of other institutions. The LC must resolutely strive to create conditions so that these decisions are passed by self-managing economic subjects which will examine and adopt them in an expert way, and will bear economic and political responsibility for them.

Milan Uzelac said that we must ponder over the fact that in at least one municipality it was possible to have such a degree of merging of the LC and its leadership with the technobureaucratic structure. Stating that this requires a very careful analysis of such phenomena which are to a higher or lesser degree found in various environments, he said that these phenomena occured in conditions of exacerbated struggle for legality and constitutionality. I would like to recall, he says, that in the last several years as a result of the LC action nearly 600 people were removed from those positions where they may be led into a similar temptation. Last year the Presidium initiated political responsibility of Communists in banks because of their use of credits earmarked for exports for no special purpose, and consciously engaged in a fight with a specter called "useful malversations." Such activities gained considerable support in the public among working people and citizens, but nonetheless, even in such an atmosphere things degenerated into anarchy and attacks on the legal system, unprecedented in the history of this republic. This imposes a need to analyze from this exeprience the degree of organization of those services that serve society as a whole, which must be an independent instrument of its legal system and secure public peace and order, free flow of social information and control over money movements.

According to Uzelac's assessment, it should be examined in the light of these conclusions what kind of an organization the economic bank—the Sarajevo Associated Bank—is, having allegedly no authority or responsibility and holding back the entire apparatus, with regard to the fact that a bank, in this case the Bihac Basic Bank, is operating illegally and shifting the right of guaranteeing bills onto its branch in Velika Kladusa and the Agrokomerc internal bank. It is necessary to rapidly analyze and eliminate the conditions leading to the fact that even the Social Accountancy Service is becoming a municipal service on which power can be imposed to the degree in which its role in society is devalued.

Finally, Milan Uzelac said that it is essential to resolutely break tenacious technobureaucratic, etatist, politocratic [politokratski] and similar forces, and to unyieldingly prevent decision-making on the part of some influential people who endeavor at all costs to dominate this political substructure. He added that it is not only a statutory duty of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, but also a political necessity to start preparations for the conference of this republic's LC and to this end to establish the tasks of the Presidium. During the preparations and at the conference itself the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC should strengthen unity in its ranks in the struggle for overcoming the present crisis. This was said by the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium in his introductory report at the session of this republic's LC Central Committee.

## SAWP Discusses Agrokomerc

*LD211949 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—It has been factually established that in no way can Hamdija Pozderac be linked with Agrokomerc machinations. His resignation is the result of his personal decision and not because it was demanded by any organ. This was stated by Ferhat

Kotoric, president of the SAWP of Bosnia and Hercegovina, during the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium today, which discussed manifestations of abuses and violations of legality and, in this context, Agrokomerc as well.

This statement by Kotorac was his reaction to the statement by Nenad Bucin, who expressed the view that the evaluations of the resignation governed by the organs of the federation and of Bosnia and Hercegovina in fact prejudged the assessment of the Assembly of Bosnia and Hercegovina, the body which elected Hamdija Pozderac a member of the SFRY Presidency.

This resignation is not the only one mentioned today. Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP, demanded the resignation of the federal secretary for finance, of the director general of the SFRY Social Accountancy Service, and of the governor of Narodna Bank of Yugoslavia. Although they probably had no connection with the scandal they must be accountable because their supervisory service failed to act on time.

### Federal Conference Discussion

*LD212306 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 21 Sep 87*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The Socialist Alliance's role of a controller, which the Constitution defines as being the organization's right and duty, has been ignored and weakened. The Socialist Alliance has often been blatantly manipulated and used as a cover by some informal groups for promoting their undemocratic decisions in contravention of the law. Unfortunately the Agrokomerc affair has raised not just the question of issuing "gray" money but also of exercising "gray" power. This was stressed by Milojko Drulovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, at today's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, one in a series of sessions which will discuss the implementation of constitutionality and law. Today's session was prompted by the Agrokomerc affair.

The session was opened by 1 minute's silence in honor of the four conscripts who tragically lost their lives in Paracin. Their tragic death, Milojko Drulovic said, is a warning that we must counter terrorism as a tactic employed by the enemy to fulfil the insame goals of separatists and nationalists in Kosovo. The shots in the Paracin barracks have shaken the entire country. We must allow neither the internal nor external enemy to sow hatred in the country.

It would be dangerous to identify this crime with the Albanian nationality, Drulovic said, stressing that we had to persevere in thwarting separatist and nationalist-inspired activity, and the indoctrination of young people which had led some of them to commit crimes against the Yugoslav People's Army, that most glorious symbol of Yugoslavia's unity and stability.

Referring to the topic to be discussed at today's session, Drulovic said that it would raise not only the issue of problems but also of demands that would set before the Socialist Alliance very serious and specific tasks. He went on to specify that the Agrokomerc affair was not the only irregularity of similar character, that it pointed to the absence of openness in conducting cadre policy and also to the fact that, in practice as well as among the grassroots, the Socialist Alliance failed to live up to its important role of the factor of social control. At issue here is the need to create a democratic atmosphere in society in which people will be able to criticize without-fearing reprisals.

Noting that the promissory notes issued by Agrokomerc (during the first 6 months of this year) amounted to almost one third of the money supply growth in the country, Drulovic said that the country's credit-monetary policy had in this way been brought down to its knees and an inflationary shock produced on the market. He added that insisting on a consistent enforcement of the law did not mean strengthening etatism and centralism, but provided a basis for society's democratic development, promotion of self-management and the equality of the republic and provinces in line with the Constitution.

Drulovic went on to warn that the leaderships in the Socialist Alliance should bear the responsibility for the failure to adhere to the law and for criminal activities in the country. Political organs, including ourself, were too slow in reacting. It is inadmissable to have a situation where a republic's leadership does not know what is taking place in a municipality or for the Federation not to be aware of developments in a republic. [passage omitted]

Drulivic said that the resignation by Hamdija Pozderac had created conditions for an even more efficient action. He added that it was now quite clear that no one, whichever post he occupies, is untouchable.

The political damage caused by the Agrokomerc affair is reflected in reaction abroad, where we have been described as an example of socialist extravagance, and of how socially owned property can be misused and squandered. Reactionary forces in some European countries are using this as an opportunity to discredit the idea of self-management. There will be those in this country, too, who will take advantage of the situation to voice their view that only a multiparty system ensures adequate control and prevents despotism.

Political opposition has been provided with a weapon to denigrate all that has been achieved. The reputation of the LC, the Socialist Alliance and the system, in general, has been undermined. How quickly they can be restored will depend on the degree of determination we show in uncovering malversation and misuses, regardless of who is involved, Drulovic said in concluding his report.

The introductory report provided an inspiration for a sharp and critical debate. For instance, in Velizar Skerovic's view, behavior by individual officials encourages

all forms of unlawful activities; Uros Bajic stressed his belief that there would be no covering-up in the Agrokomerc affair. At the same time he expressed fear that no one would be brought to account over the fact that the affair had not been nipped in the bud. It is especially difficult to criticize the republics and provinces where most power is concentrated. [passage omitted]

As early as February this year the FEC decided to look into all aspects of activity involving promissory notes. This was followed by measures designed to tighten up the terms under which promissory notes can be issued. Stressing this, Janez Zemljaric said that by making such moves the FEC tried to prevent promissory notes from becoming a source for the issue of additional money. However, we were surprised by the very insolence of those who issued the promissory notes and also by the lack of expertise among commercial banks which accepted such notes. The collusion between the economic, state and political structure which came to light in this affair also surprised us. [passage omitted]

Joze Smole, president of Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, warned that it would be extremely irresponsible to blame the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the affair of uncovered promissory notes. In the same context he called for categorical resistance to any tendency toward unitarism, which sees the way out of the present situation in some kind of centralism and in reducing the role of the republics and provinces. He insisted on the establishment of the degree of responsibility for the leading people in those institutions that, as he put it, failed to carry out their duty and whose supervisory control and other services failed to react promptly. Smole was more specific when he said that in his view it would be logical to expect the federal secretary for finance, the director general of the Social Accountancy Service of Yugoslavia and the governor of the Yugoslav National Bank to resign.

Smole's question as to whether it was true that the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina knew about the uncovered promissory notes as early as April this year, was answered by Ferhad Kotoric, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP. It is true, he said, that on 17 April the relevant state office discovered evidence of interference in the country's monetary system. What kind of interference, how and to what extent—that was impossible to establish at that time. This was followed by activity to establish the facts; the public knows what happened after.

Kotoric emphasized the unity in Bosnia-Hercegovina regarding the assessment of the causes behind the Agrokomerc affair. He said that all the relevant documents will be submitted to the LCY Central Committee for its next session. It is our view that at this stage Bosnia-Hercegovina has carried out its task in a principled, determined and responsible manner. [passage omitted]

Kotoric warned that a deaf ear could not be turned to the behavior which is damaging the policy of brotherhood, unity and togetherness in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In his view the article in the latest issue of DUGA questions the identity of people in a drastic and fascism-inspired way.

Have we set up the Social Accountancy Service in order to there to be fragmented branches and protectors of real or fictitious interests? Bogdan Trifunovic asked. According to him the social Accountancy Service was set up as an independent and autonomous social service, that was to guarantee the protection and promotion of social property, legal order and supervision in society. This service, however, under powerful pressures, is increasingly moving away from its true role, and the consequences are disastrous. Serious problems also seem to exist in the functioning of the procuracy service, Trifunovic added.

We are going to talk about how others behaved, Nenad Bucin asked, or about how our organization was sleeping the sleep of the just at the time when this Agrokomerc affair was taking place. [passage omitted]

There is a great deal of exaltation and euphoria over Hamdija Pozderac's resignation, Bucin commented. Resignation is the right and possible duty of every citizen, and I see a "plus" in his action because he was thinking in that direction. However, one should recall that no one has the privilege of measuring his own accountability. An individual can be one of those involved in measuring his own accountability, but cannot be the one to be the final arbiter.

Bucin was critical of the fact that the delegates of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly are not being given even the theoretical opportunity of making a mature and responsible evaluation of Hamdija Pozderac's accountability. Why should the opinion that resignation is a good thing be put forward in advance in the SFRY Presidency and the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium? What is meant by leaving one's post as vice president while remaining in the Central Committee? I am profoundly convinced that no one can treat the Central Committee as a "dry cleaner's"—as Bucin put it.

Emphasizing that he wanted to be even more specific, Bucin said that in his opinion resignation could be the price for a scandal over a book, but not for what happened with Agrokomerc. He added that he was prepared to differ on that point with the majority of those present.

Returning to the question of the Socialist Alliance's role, Bucin described some moves in cadre policy as the issuing of cadre promissory notes without security. He also regarded it as a mistake that in the Agrokomerc case, the Socialist Alliance played the role of inspector of that region's development programs. This was done, according to newspaper reports, by unfortunate economic and political groups of activists, which should be abolished by the Socialist Alliance statute.

Bucin considers that the committees for all-people's defense and social sefl-protection are also specialized bodies which have entered our political life by the back door. [passage omitted]

Reforms are a way to move ahead, but we have had none for 20 years, Nikola Uzenov said. Even the reform we want to carry out through changes in the Law on Associated Labor and the Constitution have already been restricted, though something should be changed outside those limits. Uzenov is of the opinion that it is the political system, not the economic system, which has engendered all our scandals, because as we know, one cannot even put up a kiosk without the opinion of the local community, let alone anything bigger. [passage omitted]

The debate at today's session, which was covered by about 70 journalists, was far more specific that the previously drawn-up draft conclusion. At the suggestion of Milojko Drulovic the Presidium opted to draw up a program of action at its next session. This should contain guidelines for the work of the Socialist Alliance, backing for the proper role of the workers' councils, standpoints on the nature of the accountability of state organs, and proposals for further elaboration of the legislative and legal system.

As an addition to the conclusions, Mirko Ostojic took the floor and advocated that greater value should be placed upon public opinion and labor. He considers it necessary to review the introduction of a referendum on certain questions of general importance. In this context, Ostojic said that the persons who should stand at the head of the state must be those accepted by all citizens of our country, and not just by one republic.

## Pristina Presidium Discusses Emigration

*LD201409 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 19 Sep*

[Summary] Pristina, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—The Pristina LC Municipal Committee Presidium noted at the session today that the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins was continuing despite the measures taken and the intensified activity after the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee. In the past 8 months, 305 persons of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities left Pristina, including 34 with completed higher education, which is down by 50 percent from the same period last year. Since the beginning of the year, 107 Serbs and Montenegrins returned, including two four-member families. Another 80 requests are being considered at the moment for return and employment in the city. The Institute for the Development of Agrokosovo passed a decision to employ 15 experts, doctors and scientists, while the medical faculty wishes to bring back 27 doctors, technicians, and other medical staff.

## Local SAWP Group Demands Leadership 'Purge'

*AU211617 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Sep 87 p 4*

[B. Reka report on meeting of SAWP Association of Local Community No 16 in Kosovo Polje on 15 September: "In Favor of the Conclusions—Beyond the Conclusions!"]

[Excerpts] The epilogue of the meeting the day before yesterday [15 September] of the SAWP Association of Local Community No 16 in Kosovo Polje was somewhat unusual, as well as tragic. The meeting, which had already gone on for 3 hours, was broken off by the heart attack of Miloje Delanin, a speaker who was posing the question of how long we would have to wait for an improvement of the situation, whether it was not enough to have waited 40 years, and claiming that nothing could be done without a purge of the leadership from above. [passage omitted]

And so the meeting organized to consider the realization of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Ninth Plenum on Kosovo was almost transformed into its polar opposite because not only did the members of this local SAWP association not criticize themselves for not doing anything toward the realization of these conclusions 2 months after the plenum, but the majority of speeches were colored by a mood of suspicion of the conclusions, dissatisfaction with them, and even some notes of discord as evidenced by the outbreak of radical and outmoded political demands from past eras, which are in diametrical opposition to the conclusions and to LCY policy for national equality. These demands were "justified" as revenge for rapes, for damage done to graveyards, and the barbarous crime at Paracin. There is no other way of explaining the demands of the majority of participants at the meeting two days ago that the Albanian nationality be renamed "Shiptar," that the official use of the Albanian national flag and the Albanian language be stopped, and the remarks of some that the model of Macedonia should be followed. Can the conclusions be realized when still today, 40 years after the liberation, the thoroughly reactionary and hostile theory that "the Serbs gave freedom, emancipation, and schools to the Albanians" (Radojka Miucin) is still repeated, when it is well known that freedom was not a gift from anybody to anyone, but was won by the finest sons of all the peoples and nationalities, as Daut Jashanica, correctly rebutted. [passage omitted]

The fact is that the only topic on the agenda of this meeting was ideopolitical differentiation, on which question Slavko Djumic even said that it was evident even from the very arrangement of items in the conclusions that little could be expected from ideopolitical differentiation, since it was left to item number 18. Milika Aleksic, on the issue of differentiation, said that the bad elements should not be allowed to lead Yugoslavia, while Bogdan Kecman in his long speech opposed the policy of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidency that cadre changes must be made in Klina, Kacanik, and

Istok, saying that the changes should be made in Pristina, since, he said "that is the center of nationalism and opportunism which guides policy. "He and others did not miss the opportunity of expostulating for the umpteenth time with demands for changes in the highest leadership of the province. On this point Daut Jasnanica and Zika Mitrovic, secretary of the Pristina SAWP Communal Committee Presidency, remarked that all the items of the conclusions were of equal value and that their order was not the equivalent of priority, that work was being done on this item, that public opinion would be informed about this and other matters, but that it was not to be expected that an identical responsibility will be ascribed to cadres of 10 and 15 days ago as to those of 10 and 15 years ago. What improved the image of this meeting, which when it began was little short of a gathering of a single nationality, was the constructive discussion of two Albanians, Avdi Avdiu and Hysen Fazliu, but as never before goodwill patience, and a common language are required, since the chairs began to empty during their speeches.

## Implementation of Kosovo LCY CC Conclusions

### 'Complete Facts' Needed

*AU181705 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 87 p 6*

[TANJUG report]

[Text] "One should know," Ekrem Arifi, member of the Kosovo LC Provinicial Committee Presidium, said during talks with communists of the Istok Village, "that the implementation of the Point 18 of the Conclusions of the LCY Central Committee is not being carried out quickly because we must have complete and documented facts on the situation in Kosovo and the leadership. We cannot carry on with the stand that heads should roll. There are individuals who have been members of the party for 40 or more years against whom drastic measures have been requested for mistakes which are of no importance. We shall speak openly about all this when the commission finishes its work. Those very extremist forces that make an appearance in some newspapers are attaching labels to these people who worked along the party line for 40 years. It is unbelievable that these people are called spies and ballists in some newspapers. We shall clear up everything that has been questionable in the period since the Prizren trial. This will be nothing new—this assessment was made by the LCY Central Committee and the LC Central Committee of Serbia during Tito's life as well."

### Media Reports Assessed

*AU151936 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 87 p 3*

[M. Antic report: "Picture With Shadows"]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 3 Sep—In their assessment of how Kosovo newspapers and the Communists working in them have organized themselves to implement the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum conclusions on Kosovo, members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Commission for Information and Propaganda concluded the following: The picture of Kosovo reality is presented objectively, despite the fact that there are some shadows that hide the broadness of the progressive forces' front.

The tone of the session was influenced by the introductory speech delivered by Sonja Scepanovic, executive secretary of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, who said among other things, the following:

"Reports about problems in Kosovo received a new dimension immediately after the holding of LCY Central Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee sessions: They are characterized by optimism; they emphasize a 'united attempt to find an agreement on Kosovo problems'; they carry a 'definitive answer for all the directions of political and social action'; they insist on respecting set time limits, but warn that things cannot be changed overnight." [passage omitted]

Sonja Scepanovic also said that certain excesses with a nationalist background were the direct cause of citizens' gatherings. But in the reports on the latest gatherings some earlier mistakes have been repeated.

"Some newspapers," she said, "reported that the Kosovo leadership regards these gatherings as nationalist. We must use this occasion to repeat again that no assessment of any official forum in the province contained this kind of qualification." [passage omitted]

Who Is Gathering People Together [subhead]

Recently some newspapers have again carried reports which openly stimulate gatherings by Serbs and Montenegrins, without pointing out the dangers that could result from them. Some are even writing about the kind of gathering that could take place if Lazar Mojsov visited Kosovo. It was mentioned that number of Serbs and Montenegrins that could gather on that occasion was about 50,000. It is superfluous to comment about these kinds of reports, said Sonja Scepanovic. [passage omitted]

### POLITIKA Ekspres Replies to Pavlovic

*AU211755 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 87 p 8*

[Dragoljub Milanovic report: "Facile Assessments by Dragisa Pavlovic"]

[Excerpts] In a prominent place yesterday, *Politika Ekspres* carried a commentary by Dragoljub Milanovic on the speech by Dragisa Pavlovic, president of the City Committee of the LC of Belgrade, at a meeting with chief and responsible editors and party secretaries held at the City Committee. We reprint the commentary in full:

Without any doubt, the press is an important social factor. This well-known statement occasionally is given some different, special meanings.

Some of these meanings were correctly diagnosed by Dragisa Pavlovic, president of the City Committee of the LC of Belgrade, addressing chief and responsible editors and party secretaries in public media at the City Committee at the end of last week. [passage omitted]

The processes in society, Pavlovic said, have taken a course which offers a diminishing opportunity and place for the press, particularly during moments of crisis, by proclaiming it the scapegoat and using it to settle some other political scores.

It was with the promise that this time all these things would be avoided that a hastily called and ad hoc meeting on the subject of the press began at the City Committee on a day when a substantial portion of the capital's workers class was on strike.

However, only a fool rejoices at a promise. One can see from newspaper, and especially from television reports that as the time passed, complex sentences, replete with allusions, warnings, and even accusations were uttered, without being addressed to anybody. The exception was the undisputably necessary warning to the press that it should not lose sight of the line drawn against Serbian nationalism and revanchism under these well known social circumstances. [passage omitted]

In this context, mention was also made of "certain institutions of the system," "public speeches and personages," as well as "wrongly chosen methods of struggle" declaring the Serbian people should not be pushed onto a wrong road; "imagined or conceited solutions" from which somebody now asks for blood, "the logic that because of the situation in Kosovo, everything should be done, even if mistakes are made," serving as an example of a pragmatic and bureaucratic policy which gains applause today and causes great trouble tomorrow; the hands of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, which now clap but are beginning to clench into fists and drag one into a tragic development of events, and so on and so forth.

All this would be easily understandable by the public, which was showered with these statements, and probably also by those attending the meeting, had it referred to the Serbian nationalists according to the usual political classification; for Serbian nationalists would not like to be allies in solving the Kosovo drama although they never cared for the Serbian people, now or earlier, but have always traded with its fate and interests to secure personal positions and power. The same is happening now.

However, these nationalists have no opportunity to choose the methods of the Serbian people's struggle, to conduct its policy, to find solutions; they are not representatives of the institutions of the system, at least as far as the public is aware.

To whom, then, is all this addressed and for whom is it intended? Who is being shot at, and where? What other political accounts are being settled by Dragisa Pavlovic? Whatever accounts are at stake, they certainly involve not only the press but also the LC and the people. [passage omitted]

Let us leave aside the fact that the public media have not silently over looked a single broken window in Albanians' shops in Serbia, and that they reacted to all such acts of hatred and madness with condemning commentaries in the press, the radio, and television. First we must ask where Pavlovic sees the causes of the atmosphere depicted in such a way.

Who is it that makes such facile promises about a quick change of the situation in Kosovo?

To answer this question one must inevitably face the Ninth LCY Central Committee plenum. [passage omitted]

Must one quote at length the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee plenum about Kosovo to show how that gathering insisted precisely on speed and on deadlines for implementing social tasks in Kosovo? [passage omitted]

It is thus clear that the obligation that the problems in Kosovo will be solved without delay was not assumed, and the promises to this effect were not given, by Serbian nationalists but by the LC Central Committees, and that they were supported by all the people. Therefore, if applause to the ninth plenum—and quite understandably, it was Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo that applauded—is said to be present and future clenching of fists with possible tragic consequences (which certainly must not be allowed), the cause for it cannot be the facile promise of speed. It is precisely the opposite: to advocate that the action should be further delayed means to admit nationalism, fists, and the possible tragic consequences. Are the plenum conclusions, and the unity and mobilization achieved, lightly made promises? After all, is it a question of facile promises speed or of facile assessments by Dragisa Pavlovic?